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D E N M A R K :
HITLER'S
“ MODEL PROTECTORATE ”

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HITLER'S
"MODEL PROTECTORATE"

by

STEN GUDME

Translated from the Danish by

JAN NOBLE

LONDON

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DENMARK MURDERED

IN THE early hours of the 9th April, 1940, the News Editor of the *New York Times* received a telegram from the paper's Copenhagen correspondent:

GERMAN TROOPS CROSSED THE DANISH FRONTIER AT DAWN AND TOOK POSSESSION OF COPENHAGEN. AT A CABINET MEETING IN THE SMALL HOURS KING CHRISTIAN AND THE GOVERNMENT AGREED TO YIELD BEFORE SUPERIOR FORCE.

There was still time enough to get out an extra edition, and the News Editor splashed over the whole eight-column front page of his paper, in thick type, the heading:

Denmark Murdered.

That was how an unknown colleague in New York provided me with a title for this introduction.

Denmark murdered—though very little blood was shed in that tragedy: a handful of Danes slain by German bullets, and quite ten times as many of the Germans killed. It was the least sanguinary incident in the whole of Hitler's war.

It was, none the less, a veritable deed of violence. I am not thinking only of the unspeakable misery of four million Danes waking up that fine April morning to find their freedom gone. A whole world had toppled; a hope had been extinguished, a dream shattered—a dream about a world in which even the humble folk could till the soil and enjoy the sunshine without being constantly on the look-out for danger.

It is a niggardly soil that the Danish peasant ploughs; yet his butter, bacon and ham found a market in every corner of the globe. The coast of West Jutland has only two harbours, for a wild sea bars further outlets. Despite this, the fishermen of West Jutland used daily to deliver fish for the table of the farmer in Southern France. Denmark has no mines; from the clay of her poor soil, however, a precious porcelain is baked, and sold in Bond Street and on Fifth Avenue. There is neither steel nor coal, but Danish yards build ships for countries all over the world. Danish engineers fling bridges over space, build silos, railways and harbours on all the seven seas. Denmark had, per head of her population, a larger foreign turnover than any other country in the world.

This Denmark had no ramparts of defence; her riches were not great—only the strength of her hands and the ability of her splendid people. Denmark was not merely Hans Andersen's land, the home-

land of idylls, where dreams are easily fashioned into fairy-tales; it was a dream of action and achievement that sent Danish merchant ships out over every ocean, and young Danes to colonize under every point of the compass. It was not weakness that put its stamp upon the Danish mentality, but tenderness—tenderness for growing life. Was it necessary to stand in armour and coat of mail, to build great underground concrete shelters, and to scatter aerodromes over the land in order to protect it?

The Danes did not think so. They are no more cowardly than other nations; but they had allowed themselves to dream of an existence in which disputes could be settled without force, and then had simply disarmed. Was this somewhat naive in Hitler's Europe? Possibly. At any rate, it was certainly not because the Danes were pro-German.

In no other northern country have the Germans and the whole menace which Germanism spells for our generation been so abhorred as in Denmark. From the moment that Nazism came to power, and until the voicing of an opinion about Hitler meant the risking of one's life, there was not a Danish newspaper with any respect for itself and its readers that did not stand aloof from Nazism and openly proclaim whither it was leading Europe. Ever since the war of 1864, which robbed Denmark of Slesvig, the German menace hovered like an evil shadow over the Danes, and even if they were forced to keep quiet about it at times, it was the unspoken thought in every mind.

It was quite easy for outsiders to make remarks upon Danish light-heartedness; this arose much less from frivolity than from a sort of vital need for compensation: the mind's revolt against a perpetual threat. Hitler and all he stood for were hated in Denmark. Perhaps it was naive, therefore, to disarm. There were large sections of the Danish population, however, in whom the fact of Germany's proximity had inspired a dread of those very illusions which had proved so costly in 1864: the false pride engendered by the notion of a small Power's military strength. Would it have availed?

Only one year before he had sent his soldiers to murder the country, Hitler had given Denmark a solemn assurance that he would never attack it. There was, of course, no other country but Germany that would dream of doing so. Did the Danes believe in Hitler's assurances? No, in the bottom of their hearts very few of them did. To quote the words of a modern Danish writer: "We don't believe in scoundrels nowadays, which greatly eases their task." We believed enough in scoundrels to calculate that there might be bounds to their villainy. That was indeed naive when it was a question of Hitler—it was perhaps criminally naive. In this we have a clear example of the utter poisonousness of his method: even if a people did not believe in his promises, he managed all the same to foist upon it promises which, once given, bred doubts—in this instance hopes—that the intentions might, after all, have been honourable.

On the 9th of April this promise was broken. One hundred and twenty thousand German military boots stamped in over Danish ground. A thousand years of history, sometimes in greatness and splendour, sometimes in poverty and need, but always in freedom, were wiped out in a single night. Wheels slowed down in the factories; live-stock disappeared from the stables; idle hands hung listlessly down. The printing-press was controlled, speeches were forbidden: the old Denmark was no more.

Denmark's tragedy, in comparison with that of other occupied countries, was on a very small scale, so people say; but on what scales can sorrow and humiliation be weighed?

It is said, too, that the Danes do not take their fair share in the struggle convulsing Europe; they do not even make a show of resistance in their own country. Are the Danes living on amicable terms with their oppressors? Are they just calmly waiting for the Germans to lose the war—which they surely will one day—and then everything will come right again, so why risk their lives now? Is Denmark putting forth a genuine effort against Hitler's representatives, and so ensuring the dignity of man in the free Europe of the future? And is there in Denmark a hope that, when the time is ripe, she will be used in the great uprising, the internal revolt, the thousands of small varieties of sabotage when the signal is given? Let this book, which I wrote in the autumn of 1941, after my escape from Denmark, relate what is happening.

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PART ONE

THE BLITZ INVASION

CHAPTER ONE

TWO HOURS' BATTLE

THE GERMAN march into Denmark began with a triple murder. Three guards, keeping watch over the frontier crossing at Krusaa in Slesvig on the night preceding the 9th April, 1940, were struck down from behind in the dark by some unknown men in civilian dress. Whether these were Germans who had sneaked over the frontier beforehand, or Danish Nazis clearing away this first obstacle to the German entry, has never been discovered. The Danish police who were trying to get at the facts after the invasion were ordered by the Germans to suspend all investigations, and from the stone erected over the three murdered men the Germans demanded that the words:

"They fell by an unknown hand"

should be removed.

There was a little book published anonymously in Copenhagen at the beginning of this century, called *Judgment Day*. In novel-form it embodied one of the endless defence arguments which, ever since Denmark's unfortunate war of 1864, have split the nation. The book was dismissed as an absurd fantasy. It described how half a dozen German transport ships and a few thousand men could conquer Denmark in a couple of hours in the forenoon. The implication was that the capital had not an adequate garrison and a really strong coastal defence.

But *Judgment Day* had been simply a vision. On the 9th April, 1940, quite thirty years after it was published, Denmark was invaded by the Germans exactly as that fantastic romance had foretold: German ships lay alongside Langelinie, and German troops marched through Copenhagen by the very same streets as had been named in the book. In two hours it was all over. Denmark had ceased to be a free country.

Judgment Day may have been too grotesque to be believed, but there was no lack of other warnings to the Danish Government concerning what lay ahead.

For six months the German war-machine had been at rest after the Polish campaign ended. This long period of quiet in a war which had as yet no fronts worked oppressively and uncannily on men's minds. Down on the southern frontier millions of armed men stood waiting while Hitler chose a front. Where would he strike next?

Not in Denmark, anyway, the Government reassured the faint-hearts when travellers came home from Germany with tales of huge troop concentrations in Slesvig and in the North German Baltic ports. The non-aggression pact which Hitler had concluded with Denmark three months before the war (31st May, 1939) had had the effect anticipated from a dose of morphia. People were never tired of asserting that only in desperation, would Hitler attack Denmark, because he needed the country's agricultural products. Moreover Denmark's cattle and pigs would die of hunger if supplies from the west were stopped, following a German occupation.

In vain did the correspondents of Danish newspapers in Berlin express a different opinion. As far back as January they had said that Denmark was threatened, and they asserted that the invasion would take place when the ice had loosened its grip on the Danish water-ways.

But winter seemed endless that year. January, February and March passed, and still the Sound and the Belts were ice-bound. All the time there were persistent reports of German troop concentrations at the frontier; their constant repetition had ended by dulling men's wits. Then the spring sunshine of April did at last break the ice, and on Sunday, the 7th April, Jacob Kronika, the Berlin correspondent of the Copenhagen *Nationaltidende*, informed his editor that this was the last evening on which he would be able to telephone home. . . . Twenty-four hours later he and his Danish and Norwegian colleagues were interned as the German Government's guests in a luxury hotel, while the German soldiers marched over the border. And Marshal Goering invited the Danish King's cousin, Prince Axel, who is an admiral in the Danish fleet and was visiting Berlin as Head of the Danish trade delegation, to come out to his place at Kariushall, the Goering bombers in the meantime droning over Copenhagen.

The drivers of the Danish fish-lorries which take fresh North Sea fish from Esbjerg down to Hamburg and other big towns in the north of Germany had an alarming report to make on Monday, the 8th of April. The troops were then on the march, they said. In endlessly long columns—50 km. long, was the estimate—they were marching along the high road, northwards, in the direction of the Danish frontier. It was a matter of hours only. Colonel Paludan-Müller, Head of the Danish frontier guards, gave his men the alarm, and General W. W. Prior, the supreme commander of the army, called for immediate mobilisation.

But the Danish Prime Minister, the sixty-six-year-old Social Democrat Thorvald Stauning, who only recently had celebrated his tenth anniversary as Prime Minister, said no. The Government had received the most emphatic warnings on the 4th and the 6th of April from the Danish Minister in Berlin—Hr. Zahle, since deceased. The latter had sent his naval attaché, Captain Kjolsen, to Copenhagen by air with both a written and a verbal report couched in the most earnest terms.

The Foreign Minister, Dr. Munch, was, however, not convinced. He sent for the German Minister in Copenhagen - von Renthe-Fink - and asked him for a reassurance in regard to the German troop concentrations which seemed so surprising and so menacing on top of the non-aggression pact.

The Minister replied by solemnly declaring on Hitler's behalf that Germany had no warlike intentions in regard to Denmark, but that a Danish mobilisation would be regarded by Germany as a *hostile act which would entail consequences*. The Prime Minister therefore refused to order mobilisation. On the following day the German Minister assured Dr. Munch that it was Hitler who had personally compelled him to give the false reassurance; he added tearfully that he now considered himself a "man without honour". Poor, dishonourable man! He nevertheless managed to stick to his office in Copenhagen as German Minister and general plenipotentiary!

Uneasiness in Copenhagen's political circles increased steadily throughout the day of 8th April, and a meeting of party leaders was called for the late evening.

It was then admitted that a fleet of about 100 German ships had sailed through the Great Belt; but hadn't they the solemn promise of the German Reich's Chancellor to rely upon? Denmark had nothing to fear. Where was the fleet bound for? No one knew; perhaps for Norway - the English mine-laying might be having consequences.

To the direct questions of the party leaders as to whether the army would be used if Denmark's neutrality were, after all, violated, an affirmative promise was given by both the Foreign Minister and the Defence Minister. Feeling somewhat reassured, the party leaders went home. The King had also been assured that no danger threatened; the Foreign Minister Munch had advised him to go to see *The Merry Wives of Windsor* at the Theatre Royal.

Night drew on, and while four German colliers, which had moved from the Great Belt to the Cattegat and then turned east, were approaching the Sound and northward bound for Copenhagen, King and ministers retired to rest, suspecting nothing, fearing nothing. After all, they had Hitler's word to rely on. . . .

It was almost impossible to call together a Cabinet meeting at 4.30 next morning, when the German Minister presented himself with his ultimatum.

Somehow or other the telephone in Amalienborg Castle had failed to respond when Dr. Munch, the Foreign Minister, who in the early hours had received the German Minister at his home on the Østerbro, rang up requesting the King to call the Cabinet. Time was short. Renthe-Fink's reading of the German ultimatum—like all German documents, interminably long and wordy—had already taken up many precious minutes in Dr. Munch's home. The German bombers might be expected in Copenhagen in an hour's time, unless the

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answer were forthcoming before that. 'There was nothing for it but to get hold of a taxi-driver and send him to Amalienborg Castle to rouse the Court. Thus it came about that it was a taxi-man who summoned the most fateful Cabinet meeting in all Denmark's thousand years' history.

Bertel Dahlgaard, Minister for the Interior, never got to the meeting. On the way from his home outside Copenhagen he was arrested by German soldiers and confined in the citadel, whence he emerged only some hours after the meeting was over.

Reports of the procedure of the meeting are still scanty, but one of those present has given his account of it. The social-democrat Minister of Defence, Hr. Alsing-Andersen, and the heads of the army and the navy, General Prior and Admiral Rechnitzer, met at the Ministry of Defence; and from there they went on to Amalienborg at five o'clock. Before leaving the Ministry General Prior telephoned to the Vaerlose air-base, and ordered the 'planes to go up.

The only persons present at Amalienborg so far were the Prime Minister, the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Director of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Hr. Cl. Mohr.

The German Minister rang up in a state of agitation to ask whether the reply was not ready; all that Hr. Mohr could tell him was that the King had not yet arrived. During this talk the first shot on the Amalienborg Castle Square was heard. The Ministers present were violently excited. Again the telephone rang; this time it was the naval staff wishing to talk to Admiral Rechnitzer. They said that the Germans were on the point of landing, and asked whether they were to fire. Without consulting his colleagues, Admiral Rechnitzer said no. General Prior violently upbraided the Admiral for making this decision before the King's arrival.

But it was too late: the order had been given. Admiral Rechnitzer was not to be shaken. He had long ago made up his mind. He foresaw—and quite correctly—that when it came to the point, the Government would refuse to fight, in spite of the solemn assurances given to the party leaders the night before. Consequently he had already, that same night before—was it, perhaps, a portent?—issued most generous leave to the officers and men of the coastal defence. Did he likewise issue the order that there was to be no shooting, and that the electric mines were not to be put in action? In any case, not a gun was fired, and the German ships came in unscathed.

All the lights of Denmark shone in the night. . . .

The King had now arrived upon the scene, accompanied by the Crown Prince Frederic. The King looked so deadly pale that it was feared he would faint. The Commander-in-Chief reported fighting in Slesvig, and said that the airmen from the Vaerlose camp had gone up to attack. General Prior could not really have had any actual knowledge of this last point; however, he was relying upon

his orders, telephoned from the War Ministry, being carried out—and so they were. Up to the last, unlike Admiral Rechnitzer, General Prior hoped that the Cabinet would agree to Denmark's fighting to the last man.

But the mood of the present Ministers—and the King—was against him. During an unbroken period of twenty years successive Governments had gradually reduced the Danish army, restricted calling up and whittled down technical equipment. Denmark—alone among the nations of Europe—had really disarmed. The Foreign Minister, speaking in the Lower House of the Danish Parliament in 1934, defined his party's defence policy in these words:

“The disarmament which I recommend means giving up completely all war preparations and adopting a new military system designed merely for *sentry duty* along the frontier, along the coasts and on the waterways of our country.”

With all too little military strength and with inadequate technical equipment, the King was unwilling that the youth of the country should shed their blood in a struggle against so vastly superior an opponent. He was, however, anxious to ascertain whether it would be possible to tell the outside world that a sufficient show of opposition had now been put up.

Admiral Rechnitzer said yes. The King sharply reprimanded him for having in reality forestalled the Government's decision.

General Prior, on the other hand, wanted the fight to go on, even if the prospects seemed hopeless, and he proposed that the King and the Government should at once leave for Hovaeltelejren, north of Copenhagen, where a battalion was stationed, ready to offer resistance. But the King refused; he would not leave his capital, he said, and in this the Ministers were at one with him.

What part was played by the Minister of Defence in these discussions? Hr. Alsing-Andersen emphasised at this stage the German Minister's threat that Copenhagen would be bombarded unless they submitted to the German demands. A month had still to pass before the world saw what happened in Rotterdam, but we had learned of Warsaw's fate. General Prior answered that such a bombardment would be the very thing to show the world how treacherously and contemptibly Germany had behaved. Alsing-Andersen declared that he was willing to take upon himself the responsibility for putting an end to the struggle.

The Queen then joined in the deliberations. Queen Alexandrine is a German princess, but her whole heart is in Denmark. When she later met the German commandant, General Kaupisch, at her first and only audience, she said to him: “This is not the way I should have liked to meet my compatriots. . . .”

But the Cabinet's decision was now clear: the King instructed Hr. Mohr to get into touch with the German Minister, and directed the commanding general to go down to the castle square and order the cease fire. General Prior refused to give this order, but he did go

hastening to the city to clean the offices before the day's business began, were amazed to see the tram-cars held up in long lines out on Østerbro. Nobody knew what this meant. But presently the steady beat of marching feet was heard in the streets, and round the corner swung the first German column into the centre of the town.

At six o'clock those who were still asleep were awakened by an uncanny, dull, droning sound. It was the German bombers flying in close formation over the town. They dived low over the Rådhusplads, then disappeared into the outer districts. They dropped no bombs, but in the fresh morning breeze thousands of light green pamphlets floated down over streets and squares. This was an address from Denmark's new master, General Kaupisch, commander of the German troops in Denmark.

The German himself was now at the Palace Hotel, getting into his uniform. He had come to the hotel the evening before, dressed as an ordinary tourist.

General Kaupisch's address was as follows:—

"Address to the Soldiers and People of Denmark"

"Without cause, and contrary to the sincere desire of the German Government and people to live in peace and friendship with the French and English peoples, the rulers of France and England declared war on Germany in September of last year. It was and still is their intention to settle upon a theatre of war which would be fairly remote, and therefore less dangerous for England and France, hoping that this would render it impossible for Germany to advance against them in any great strength. For this reason England has, *inter alia*, consistently violated the neutrality of Denmark and Norway and their territorial waters. She has endeavoured the whole time to make Scandinavia a theatre of war. When an exterior motive seemed no longer to her hand after the Russo-Finnish peace treaty, she then made an official declaration that she would no longer tolerate the navigation of Danish territorial waterways, the North Sea and the Norwegian waterways by the German merchant navy. These people even went so far as to declare that they would undertake to police the said waters. Finally, all preparations have been made for the surprise occupation of all necessary bases on the Norwegian coast.

"Churchill, the greatest war-monger of the century, who had already brought disaster to the whole of humanity in the last world war, has openly declared that he refuses to be bound by 'legal settlements or neutral rights on scraps of paper'. It is he who has prepared the thrust on the coasts of Denmark and Norway. A few days ago he was chosen as the leader responsible for the whole conduct of Britain's war. The German Government has so far watched this man's activities; but it cannot tolerate that a new theatre of war shall be created to suit the convenience of the Anglo-French war-mongers. The Governments of Denmark and Norway have for months been cognizant of this state of affairs,

nor has their attitude been a secret to the German Government. They are neither willing nor able to make any effective stand against an English incursion. Consequently Germany has decided to anticipate the British attack, and with her own forces to safeguard the neutrality of the Danish and Norwegian kingdoms, and defend them for the duration of the war. *It is not the German Government's intention to create for itself a base for the struggle against England.* Its one aim is to prevent Scandinavia becoming a battle-field for the extension of the English war. Strong German military forces have therefore this morning taken over the most important military objects in Denmark and Norway. Agreements in respect of these measures will be duly concluded between the German Reich Government and the royal Government of Denmark. These agreements will ensure the continued existence of the kingdom, *that army and navy shall be maintained, the Danish people's freedom respected, and the country's future independence fully guaranteed.* Until such time as the negotiations have been completed, it is expected that the army and navy will show a spirit of understanding, likewise that the people and all communities will manifest their good sense and good will by desisting from any passive or active resistance. Such resistance would be unavailing and broken by all forcible means.

"All military and communal bodies are therefore requested to get into touch with the German commandant. The people are bidden to continue with their daily tasks, and to have regard to law and order. The German army and navy will henceforth be responsible for the country's safety against an English attack.

KAUFISCH

Commandant of the German troops in Denmark."

The italicising of portions of the text was done by me. In the English translation the peculiar choice of words and the distorted sentence-construction of this address, composed in Danish, cannot be appreciated to the full.

Needless to say, Denmark was immediately used as a base against England, and the Government was compelled to hand over a large part of the Danish fleet to Germany.

Danish soldiers were spat upon on the day of 9th April.

People were still completely in the dark as to what had happened: not a word in the newspapers, not a word on the radio, but German soldiers strutting up and down the streets of Copenhagen. And there had been *no* fighting. So people spat. It was insulting and it was heartless, but anxiety and despair had to find some outlet. The soldiers took this treatment with downcast eyes and heavy hearts. It was not their fault that there had been no fighting; those who had had the chance to fight had done their duty--more than that.

On 26th April Hans Rasmussen, the leader of the Lower House

in the Danish Parliament, made a speech commemorating the soldiers who had fallen on 9th April:

"When, on the days succeeding the 9th of April [he said], we heard of the sacrifice of life which that spring day had entailed upon our Danish lads, the hearts of the people in all parts of the country were filled with deep sorrow. . . . How great is our debt to you for the costly pledges you gave! You shared in the fight for your people's sake. We are all, and in the highest degree, your debtors. In our thoughts we silently hoist the gay flag of our country at half-mast in honour of our youthful dead.

"Those Danish soldiers fell on a spring morning for love of their fatherland. Now they lie buried, all in separate graves scattered over our land. For a long time to come the local soldier's-grave will be the one spot in the parish to which many steps will turn. . . . There was never any reason to doubt the Danish soldier's courage and loyalty. It was with warm appreciation that I read about one platoon of a company from Sonderborg whose job it was to provide patrols, two men at a time, to go out to a post from which none would return. When the captain asked for volunteers, all the twenty-four men sprang forward. The same thing would have happened, no doubt, in every other section of the army. . . ."

That was the nation's thanks for the Danish soldier, uttered in the Danish Parliament. But long before this official recognition was made, the population had realised that the Danish soldier was not to blame in any case. Only sixteen men met their death in the fight; but it was sixteen too many, seeing the Government had decided that there was to be no fighting. Had orders to resist been given, the whole army, officers and privates, would have fought to the last man. They knew nothing of shirking.

A series of soldiers' letters, published in Denmark, testifies to the spirit and the morale of the Danish army.¹

Captain P. A. C. Henningsen, who was on guard at Amalienborg on the morning of 9th April, tells in a letter that he had received orders from the King's adjutant, Captain Schlichtkrull, to stop the shooting, and inform the enemy groups operating against the palace that it was the King's desire that this should cease, and also that shooting would not be resumed on the Danish side unless the Germans attempted to penetrate the palace domains.

Having first signalled by waving to the Germans, Captain Henningsen advanced to meet them, and when he was within hail was commanded to put his hands up. He managed, however, by merely holding his arms a little way out from his body, to meet the German requirement, thus avoiding the humiliating position which "hands up" means to a soldier. When the Germans asked him to

¹ *9th April Described in Letters by Danish Soldiers*, published by Arne Stevns. Over 100,000 copies of the book were sold in Denmark.

surrender his sword, he refused to do so, and they did not press the matter.

After he had carried out the King's instructions, Captain Henningsen returned to the palace square.

"The firing had ceased [he writes] and the German troops had been stopped at a proper distance from the palace. The only thing left for me to do was to give His Majesty a verbal report of everything that had taken place since dawn, and that was the most difficult of all. The despair and concern of our King and Queen over the fate which had overtaken their country and people made a much deeper impression upon me than anything I had so far experienced. Words revealing not only sorrow but bitterness showed with what seriousness the King looked towards the future."

There was one bright spot in that bitter morning hour. Here, as in every other situation where the Danish soldiers got the chance to act as they wanted to, they proved that the spirit and morale of 1864 (Denmark's war with Germany over Slesvig) lived in the soldiers of 1940, in spite of many years' neglect. There was no opportunity at Amalienborg for exploits such as occurred in Slesvig, but every one—officers and men alike—did his duty and more. It is a sign of courage and intrepidity to lie on the open road, without any cover or protection at all, and return the enemy's fire. It takes pluck and high morale to advance in an upright position right out to the firing line in order to fetch a wounded comrade, and for a common soldier who, hearing that his captain is about to carry out a job which seems dangerous to the private, springs up and says: "Let me go, sir!"

It is still too soon to pass judgment upon what has happened. Denmark was not equipped to make a stand against the German army. The happenings in other countries with far greater powers of resistance proved that in the following months. All the same, a wave of horror and despair spread over large sections of the population and the whole of the army at the humiliating nature of what had taken place.

Some simply refused to submit to the Government's decision. One company in Seeland, led by a brave captain, managed to catch the last ferry going from Elsinore to Sweden, and a Danish naval vessel—the *Freja*—made for a Swedish port in the early morning hours. But both company and ship were turned back. There was no chance of getting through to Norway to fight there; all that was left was the choice between being interned in Sweden and returning home. So they returned to continue the struggle unarmed. If these few hundred men had been allowed to go to Norway, it is certain that thousands more would have taken the same road, and Denmark's scutcheon been brighter to-day in consequence. But self-reproach waxed stronger in the following weeks with Norway continuing her fight. It was intolerable to think that Danish soil was now

being used as a point of attack against Norway. German bombers flew from Danish air-ports; German transports, tightly packed with soldiers who would beat down the opposition in Norway, set out from Danish harbours. Might not even a struggle lasting for the whole twenty-four hours of the day and night have delayed the German plan of advance, and allowed England and France sufficient time to send adequate aid to Norway? People tortured themselves with all sorts of speculations and reproaches. When the history of this war comes to be written, we shall see how much one or two days' delay might have meant for the actions of the Allies. At present only their General Staff holds this secret.

In any case, the Danish Government retained the confidence of both King and Parliament after the fateful decision. This was not the time for a reshuffle, with the German troops masters of the country. A Coalition Government was formed, in which all the larger parties were represented, but not the Communists or the Nazis.

On 2nd July the four large parties, and Denmark's Federal League, issued the following manifesto:

"The parties represented in Parliament, desiring the maintenance of the present constitution as a basis for political life, have decided to promote national Danish collaboration.

"The parties lay aside all party differences, and assemble to ensure the independence and integrity which have been promised our country and which are the dearest wish of our people.

"In Parliament and through the Government this collaboration will help in the solution of those difficulties which the time has engendered, and more particularly it will play a leading part in effecting such reforms, in regard to the budget and the State economy, as may, under the altered conditions, guarantee a sound economic position.

"Furthermore, steps will be taken to enact such measures as will contribute to a diminution in the need for unemployment relief, by turning the able-bodied on to work which will be of service both to the unemployed and to the community.

"For the rest, the aim will be to bring the problems of the day to a speedy solution, and to ensure the best possible co-operation with those nations with whom relations are practicable, and we appeal for a continuation of these relations.

"National collaboration with those peoples is the goal towards which our parties strive.

"In order to promote the development of collaboration and to arrange the work properly when Parliament is not sitting, the parties will elect a committee of two members from each of the four parties and one member from Denmark's legal confederation."

Of course this manifesto did not mean that the parties approved of the decision arrived at in the early hours of 9th April; it simply meant the joint endeavour of the parties, irrespective of their differences,

to lead Denmark safely through the disastrous years now lying ahead.

One man fell from office because of his actions. This was the Admiral in command. A few weeks after the occupation he was visited by a group representing all the superior officers of the navy. They expressed their condemnation of what had taken place, and said that they would no longer have confidence in their Commander-in-Chief.

In reply Admiral Rechnitzer could only produce some correspondence between himself and the German High Admiral, Dr. Raeder. He stated that when he and the former Commander-in-Chief of the Army, Lieutenant-General Erik With, had been in Berlin the year before, on the occasion of Reich Chancellor Hitler's fiftieth birthday, when they were the representatives of Denmark, they had received the most solemn and binding assurances that Denmark's neutrality would always be respected by Germany, and that Germany had not the slightest intention of attacking Denmark. In a letter to Admiral Raeder immediately after the occupation, Admiral Rechnitzer bitterly upbraided the German Admiral for his broken pledge. He had had a reply which he could now show to his officers. Dr. Raeder did not deny his solemn promise, but declared that Germany was vitally threatened by England through Denmark, and consequently it had been necessary to take action.

The road of the German army through the oppressed countries is solidly paved with false promises and broken pledges.

But Admiral Rechnitzer's blind faith in them meant that he had to go into retirement.

CHAPTER TWO

THE RATS HAD BEEN GNAWING

ENGLISHMEN, KNOWING nothing more of Denmark than its geographical situation, may perhaps be tempted to think that Denmark is one of the "Border States" which, in respect of race, culture, geography and economy, are to be included in the domains of "Greater Germany". But Denmark is only a hat on the German Colossus: not part of his body. The Danes are Northmen before they are Germans. They find their vital equipoise in the life shared with their co-equals, the Nordic nations of Norway, Sweden and Finland, and they prefer this equipoise to an overclose tie with a powerful and at the same time dubious partner. Only a small fraction of Denmark's frontiers are contiguous with Germany; the rest are sea-frontiers, which open out to the free ocean, giving access to all nations. This is why the Danes are mentally not continentally adjusted: there are more Danes speaking English than German.

There was, too, in Denmark a hatred of Germany which dated

farther back than Nazi times. The English bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807 was only an episode in Danish history, due to the latter's confused policy; but the country south of us had been our enemy for centuries. Danish children, reading the history of their country, learnt a mistrust of the German Reich and a hatred of its violent hordes. The present generation has experienced oppression in Slesvig, which Denmark had to surrender after a heroic struggle in 1864 to a Germany whose Hitler was named Bismarck. Denmark at that time conducted the hopeless campaign which its Government refused on the 9th April, 1940, to continue. Perhaps because we had seen in 1864 that one gets leave to fight alone, even if one has right on one's side.

Any distrust, fear and contempt that there may have previously been in Denmark for German methods were still further increased after the Nazi invasion. It is doubtful whether, before the outbreak of the war, there was any country in Europe in which hatred of the Nazis was so general throughout the population as in Denmark. With a frankness which in retrospect seems astounding, the Danish newspapers related all the German cruelties, and condemned them in their leading articles. It is often incredible to read what could be found in these concerning the Government of a country with which we stood in friendly relations.

The Germans knew remarkably well that there was no sort of hope of getting a Nazi Government in Denmark, or even a Nazi party worth mentioning; but, for all that, they never desisted from preparing—in the political, economic and military spheres alike—for the invasion and final incorporation of Denmark in the territory of the greater German Reich.

Economically good progress had already been made, before the occupation, by the linking up of Denmark to the German bankrupt estate. When the English market for our butter and bacon began to fail, Denmark made a trade agreement with Germany, on 31st January, 1936, under which our country became one of the leading food-suppliers to the Reich. This agreement was a fine example of German *Kultur* at work. Because of Germany's crying need for foreign exchange, Denmark was to pay for part of the goods bought in the Reich in good English pounds sterling (the so-called "currency tribute"), of which Denmark had a plentiful supply through her trade with England. But those goods which Germany bought in Denmark were not paid for in cash, but entered on an account, the idea being that, as an offset to them, Denmark should purchase industrial goods in Germany. The account grew and grew (the so-called "currency hump"), until finally Germany was applying sheer extortion methods. A year before the war we were compelled to buy several years' coal supplies in advance, and although the coal was still uncut in the pits, we had to pay storage-rent on it. It was the stiffest contract ever known; but we were informed that if we refused to comply with its terms, Germany would cease trading with us altogether.

Such was the economic situation when the war broke out in September 1939. On the very first day Hitler sent a flying messenger to Copenhagen—the Minister von Hassel, a son-in-law of Admiral Tirpitz—in order to assure Denmark that she could continue undisturbed her pre-war trade with England, if she would also trade with Germany on the same basis. It was on Hitler's own initiative that this envoy was sent, and he drew up a solemn protocol which was scarcely signed when the pledges embodied in it were broken, and Danish ships sailing to England were sent to the bottom of the North Sea. "The continental blockade of England" was proclaimed, and under the device: "Who sails for England, sails to death," sixty-nine Danish ships were sunk in a few months and 433 Danish sailors lost their lives. Denmark was obliged to adhere entirely to the German economic system.

Ever since 1933 Germany had worked hard to obtain a footing in cultural and intellectual circles. The *Nordische Gesellschaft* in Lübeck was to testify to Germany's admiration for "the Nordic man", and a Nordic meeting was held there every summer, invitations being issued with a lavish hand to all Nordic poets. It may have looked most innocent, and who has ever had any objections to German culture and poetry? It must be said, however, that very few were ingenious enough to be taken in by it, and at the very time that Denmark was occupied, this society proved to be nothing but an active political instrument. As the Lübeck centre did not prove very effective, they tried more direct methods. Dr. Dräger from the *Nordische Verbindungstelle* in Berlin invited authors of repute to come on lecturing tours in Germany, on very remunerative terms, and when once again only a very few fell into the trap, attempts were made at direct bribery. Journalists and authors were offered marvellous prices for their books, all they had to do in return being to write a few articles now and again. . . .

But to the credit of the Danes it must be said that the whole thing came to nothing.

It is still too early to pass judgment on German political influence on Denmark before the occupation. The veil of secrecy still drapes it.

Denmark's whole policy in regard to the possibility of a second great war was, of course, adjusted to the preservation of the country's neutrality. She had managed it in the last war, why not in the next? When any one returning from a motor tour in Germany told stories of large new aerodromes all over the north of the country—when the war broke out there were at least fifty of these in the north—and of strong fortifications, running right through Slesvig, people simply brushed aside the thought of danger, supposing that these preparations were all to prevent an English attack from the north.

The numerous instances of German violation of Danish neutrality and the extensive system of espionage ought to have put people more on their guard. German warships and aeroplanes actually held

manœuvres on and over Danish territory—of course always with subsequent apologies for the infringement of Danish sovereignty! Even Reich's Marshal Goering took the trouble to inspect the places where the invasion was later to occur. A year before the war, in his elegant yacht, *Karin II*, he visited first Nyborg harbour, and afterwards Copenhagen harbour, carefully sailing through from south to north, and making diligent use of his binoculars, and finally Elsinore. . . .

For the matter of that, he knew the country well from former times. In the years after the World War, when he was a fugitive from Germany, he earned his living at Danish fairs, where he gave instruction in trick-flying. He was so fond of Denmark that he did not leave it until his unpaid hotel bills were so big that he ran the risk of imprisonment for hotel fraud.

Goering's long friendship for Denmark was rewarded by the Danish Government in the summer of 1938, when he was decorated as Grand Commander of the Cross of Dannebrog—with diamond breast star.

That little summer trip left behind it a bit of a cold shiver in Denmark, but was soon forgotten for more serious things.

Among these was the discovery that the head of the Danish branch of the German *Auslands-Organisation* had sent a questionnaire to all its members shortly before the war, asking them to state the number, size, power, etc., of any motor vehicles in their possession. Along with this questionnaire there was another list of queries, all clearly of a military character.

It goes without saying that all those vehicles were used on the day of the invasion. Many of the larger cars were stationed at Korsør, Gedser and Aabenraa to transport the German soldiers. There were 8000 Germans in Denmark; Sweden, which came second highest in the list of foreign countries represented, had only 6000. The questionnaire therefore aroused a great deal of speculation.

Then, in November 1938, nine prominent Germans were arrested, accused of spying, tried, and sent out of the country. In this number were three journalists attached to German papers: Captain Horst von Pflugk-Harttung, a correspondent for the *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung* (the notorious murderer who shot Karl Liebknecht): he was head of the whole concern; Dr. Max Rasch and E. F. Vogeler. The Chief of Police at that time, Hr. Thune Jacobsen, increased the general perturbation when he said that no one had the least idea of the great proportions which espionage was assuming in Denmark.

CHAPTER THREE

AN ANXIOUS NIGHT

MONDAY, THE 8th April, had been an anxious day for Denmark's biggest daily paper—*Politiken*. At the last moment we had managed to get one of our colleagues off in an aeroplane to Oslo that forenoon.

He was Erik Seidenfaden, and it was barely a month earlier that he had presented the *Politiken* with one of the world's biggest sensations by being able to announce, a whole day before any one else, that peace between Finland and Russia was a fact.

Then he had sent us his first wire from Oslo late the same evening. From the plane in which he was accompanied by the Norwegian Captain Riiser-Larsen, now Rear-Admiral and head of the Norwegian Air Force in Great Britain, he had seen the German fleet steaming towards the north. In his telegram he described the progress of the fleet while the lights were going out all along the coast of Norway. . . .

From Berlin our correspondent had passed on to us two or three evenings in succession the Wilhelmstrasse's laconic commentary on the developments in Norway: "We regard the situation in the north", the spokesman had said, "with complete coolness, complete coolness, complete coolness," repeating the phrase three times. Still we thought this referred to Norway.

I had just exchanged a few words with our London correspondent, Sven Tillge-Rasmussen. I little thought that this was to be my last talk with him for about fifteen months, before I saw him here in London again in the summer. Again it was Norway we talked about: the mysterious wreck in the Cattegat, when not only German soldiers had been seen, but also small horses swimming about in the water. What in the world were the horses being used for?

If Denmark was not nervous for herself, other people were nervous for her. *The Times*, whose correspondent I had been for half a score of years, had rung me up repeatedly. Shortly before midnight I was able to inform London that the leaders of the political parties had had a discussion with the Government, and had been given reassurances. Then the editor-in-chief of *Stockholms-Tidningen* had rung up to ask with deep concern what we thought. *Politiken* was generally considered throughout the north as the special organ of Dr. Munch, the Foreign Minister. We could only reply, after the information we had had from the Government, that we looked confidently to the future and had no apprehensions. . . .

The first edition of the paper was ready. In the second edition we were able to add that there had been an air-raid alarm in Oslo. Well, that was pretty bad; we might expect more news from that. This was the last report we had from Erik Seidenfaden, because in the early morning he accompanied King Haakon and the Storting on their adventurous progress through Norway. . . . Two o'clock came, then three, and there were still five or six of us men sitting waiting. The last thing was that the English radio spoke of a sea-battle which was in progress at Narvik. The English fleet was on the track of six German raiders. We waited until four o'clock, and still no news of the sea-battle; but suddenly we noticed that the German radio showed signs of life—a most unusual thing. . . . For another half-hour we waited, our coats on.

Then the telephone rang.

"Do you know that the Germans have landed in Korsør?"

"No," I answered—having taken the call, "we don't know that. Who are you?"

"It doesn't matter to you who I am, but it's true enough. I am in the goods-yard of the Copenhagen station; I am telephoning from there. If you don't believe me, you can ring up the Korsør station yourself."

And with that he rang off.

Feverishly I rang up Korsør. First time no reply, second time no reply. It would be a case of waiting the round of the clock, the telephone girl thought, when I complained to her. "I'll try once again for you," she said. I heard her ringing for a long, long time. Then a voice on the telephone. All it said was a brief: "Yes." Then rang off. . . . "Yes" is the same word in Danish and German—"ja". It was only afterwards that I realised that I had had a German talking to me on the telephone—any first encounter with a German soldier!

In the meantime a colleague has been telephoning to the Foreign Office, which refers him to the War Office, which in its turn refers him to the Admiralty. Nobody knows a thing. Then on to the Foreign Office once more—there must be somebody there with some information: "Are the Germans occupying Denmark?"

A laconic answer: "Look up in the air!"

Yes—up in the air indeed are German aircraft over Copenhagen. It is true, then. Then *Ritzau's Bureau*, the Danish Reuter, began to send out messages:

"Korsør, 9th April, R.B. German troops landed here five o'clock. Nyborg, 9th April, R.B. German troops . . ."

As a doctor may become indifferent about the body's physical sufferings, so does a newspaper man become cynical and indifferent concerning the sum total of tragedy which he has to relate to his readers every day. He becomes blunted, even where he is himself personally concerned. He thinks only of *getting his story told*. It was not until seven or eight hours later, when I was hurrying home to freshen myself up after the night's strenuous doings, with a cold shower and a shave, that I really grasped the significance of what had happened. All of a sudden I broke down; now only did I understand, and I cried like a child.

But the moment the first confirmation of the news came along I grabbed the telephone and dictated a wire to the State telegraph office—an urgent wire—and to *The Times*. Half an hour afterwards I was rung up and informed that my wire had not gone on. "No more telegrams for England will be accepted." My colleague, correspondent of the *New York Times*, had better luck. He telephoned at the same time as I did, also from *Politiken*. His telegram got through, and we heard later that the *New York Times* had managed to send out an extra edition.

The telegram from the *New York Times* flew all round the world and came back to Europe. So it happened that in Oslo they learned of the occupation of Denmark from New York. Even as they read

our news they had little idea of what was going on among themselves in the Oslo fjord. . . .

Now there was a rush to get out an extra edition of *Politiken*. The newspaper-man worked in every one of us six still left in the editor's office. The technical staff had gone home—only one or two of them remained behind; they were sent off in taxis to look for proper help. By the time the staff had been assembled we had to hasten away to Amalienborg, where we knew that a Cabinet meeting was being held. In Bredgade the car was brought to a standstill by an endless string of tramcars and early-morning strollers who filled the narrow street. The sound of firing came from the direction of the Amalienborg square. What could be happening now?

The crowd was seen to thin at the end of the street, and a column of German troops came marching along from Langelinje. All this time not a Danish soldier was to be seen. Very few police officers, too. And those knew as little about the happenings as we did. . . . Queer things go on in these early hours: a hefty bricklayer comes out of his door on his way to work; he sees a solitary German, rifle in hand, about to take up his position at the cross-roads, and the bricklayer up with his fist and instinctively knocks him down.

But time is flying, the technical staff must have begun to arrive at the *Politiken's* office, we must go back to our special edition. The result of the Cabinet meeting will have to be announced by the the official telegram bureau. On the Raadhussplads the German commandant's first pamphlets are now dropping down. We have a moment's horrible sensation when a formation of twenty-seven bombers suddenly swoops down low over the Town Hall. Are they going to lay the whole city in ruins? Will their bomb-load rain down on us next moment? We had no idea then whether the Cabinet had decided to fight or to surrender. But it was only pamphlets that we caught as they fell. Slowly the knowledge came home to us: so we have thrown in our hand? We will not fight! We have laid down our arms. . . .!

In the office we waited impatiently for an official statement. All that we had heard from Ritzaus Bureau was: "A statement will presently be issued by a responsible quarter. Until then nothing must be printed."

"A responsible quarter"—nothing about a responsible *Danish* quarter. Have King and Government been superseded? And is it a German statement we are waiting for?

We spent the waiting time in finding out what had happened to people in whose fate we were concerned. Nic. Blaedel, foreign policy editor of the *Berlingske Tidende*, was safe at home. Well! The Germans had not been so quick after all. Here was a man we had fully expected them to grab straight away.

The telephone bell rang again and a German voice said:

"This is from the German Legation; it is Press Attaché Friedlitz speaking. Who is it at that end?"

I gave my name.

"Good morning, good morning, Hr. Gudme [I had never met the man]. There must be no issue of *Politiken* until you have had permission from me. Do you understand? Will you inform the other papers whose quarters are in your building?"

The forenoon was pretty well advanced before we had the official declaration with the King's proclamation:

"TO THE DANISH PEOPLE

"German troops crossed the Danish frontier last night and made a descent on various places. Under protest the Danish Government has resolved to regulate the conduct of the country in relation to the occupation which has taken place, and accordingly makes the following proclamation:

"The German troops now in the country are acting in association with the Danish defence power, and it is the duty of the population to abstain from any resistance of those troops. The Danish Government will endeavour to safeguard the Danish people and our country from the disasters following a state of war, and therefore enjoin upon the population a calm and self-controlled demeanour in the situation which has now arisen. The country must be characterised by order and quiet and a loyal bearing be shown to all who exercise authority.

Copenhagen, 9th April, 1940.

CHRISTIAN R.

Th. Stauning."

To this the King added the following further personal appeal to the Danish population:

"In this situation which is so serious for our native land I call upon you all, in town and country alike, to show an absolutely correct and dignified demeanour, as any unconsidered action or utterance may have the most serious consequences.

God keep you all!
God keep Denmark!

CHRISTIAN R.

Amalienborg, 9th April, 1940."

CHAPTER FOUR

"THE COLD SHOULDER"

ALL DAY long on the 9th April the most conflicting rumours were going the rounds as to what had happened in the different parts of the country. At one moment it was said that the whole Jutland division under General Essemann had refused to obey the orders of the Government, and intended to go on with the fight; at another that a few companies had taken up their position near Vejle and that a

violent battle was raging there. However, all fighting was at an end by eight o'clock. The extent of the German losses is not known. Their lists containing only one or two names were in any case incorrect: several hundred men must certainly have been killed, a few 'planes shot down and some tanks smashed. The German soldiers never dreamt that they would encounter resistance.

One German officer who, with the usual German tact, invited a Danish officer to dine with him on that very day of 9th April, was highly astonished when his invitation was refused. "But we came here at your own request," he said; and when the Dane explained the actual situation he cursed his own Government with the words:

"More of those damn lies!"

The last ferry between Denmark and Sweden left Elsinore at eight o'clock, but the Germans did not get to Kronborg till one, and this interval was diligently used by the fishermen and owners of motor-boats. Most of them were really very generous and good. If those who were seeking freedom twenty minutes' sail away, on the other side of the Sound, had no money, well, then, they got leave to cross gratis, luggage and family and all! On the other hand, there was nothing to stop a rich fugitive from offering £200.

Many of those who fled in the first panicky hours came back again after a very few days, when it turned out that no wholesale arrests were being made.

It certainly gave one a far from comfortable feeling during the first fortnight to hear the police-cars careering through the streets at three o'clock in the morning, as one went home from one's job on the paper. What they were combing the streets for, we knew very well. It was a hunt for English or Frenchmen and German emigrants. Naturally enough such a freedom-loving land as Denmark had become a favourite refuge for those who felt the earth burning beneath their feet in Germany when Hitler came to power. But, here and now, let it be said that many of those whom we had yesterday pitied as being emigrants, suddenly blossomed out into German uniforms to-day, after the German occupation.

However, it was Danish police-cars which now came to fetch those persons who had to go to be interrogated, and it was Danish police-officers who undertook the interrogations. Denmark—said the German top dogs—was to be a model protectorate (*Muster-Beschützung*), because it had voluntarily submitted, and therefore it was the Danes only who should deal with the country's own affairs. How long this theory of a model protectorate was maintained we shall see later.

On the whole it did not go badly with those who were taken for interrogation. Some were set free at once, others were sent to a Danish camp. There was not a great number of them—a few hundreds or so. I have spoken with some of them, and they seemed as contented as people can be who have been deprived of their liberty. Naturally there are no concentration camps on the German model, and those in Danish camps who are inclined to grumble at

their lot should remember that if the Danish authorities had not taken them into their charge, the Germans would have done so—and sent them to concentration camps in Germany.

No attempt was made in the first round to interfere with the Jews. Actually there does not exist a Jewish question in Denmark, and pogroms on the German model would needlessly have infuriated the Danish population. When the occupation had been going on for a year, however, a start was made with the compilation of statistics about Jews. It was the first step towards forcing them out of business life. All foreign trade is now, of course, controlled by Germans, and nowadays it is impossible for many a Jew to obtain the goods necessary for a continuance of his trade. It was because of this that one large and well-known Store was compelled to close down this spring, its Jewish proprietors being unable to obtain their goods from Germany. Only in a single instance has the Jewish question been raised in connexion with the Press, when a demand was made for the dismissal of a Jewish member of the *Nationaltidende's* staff—Berel Bing. But for once in a way all the Copenhagen papers formed a united front to resist the demand, and the Germans then dropped it, taking care, however, that the man in question should be economically victimised in another way.

The University, whose stand may on the whole serve as a shining example to all Danes, obstinately refused to take any notice of the way the wind was blowing. Thus when the Germans compelled the "Jewish" social-democratic member of the Lower House, Hartvig Frisch—a most eminent scholar—to resign the leadership of the Social-democrats in Parliament, the University appointed him Professor of Classical Philology, a demonstration which made a profound impression.

Nothing is further from the thoughts of the man-in-the-street in Denmark than that a Jewish question should ever arise in his country, and he treats the individual Jew with the utmost consideration and courtesy. Free Masons have not been interfered with at all. King Christian is the highest Free Mason in the land.

The first day's alarm lest Denmark should experience a reign of terror such as Poland had known rapidly subsided. The King's appeal for quiet and order had a tranquillising effect, and the Germans never tired of repeating that Denmark would see in their own land a model protectorate.

To a certain extent it was *élite* troops who were used for the occupation, and many of the soldiers could speak fluent Danish. They either came from Slesvig and Holstein on the boundaries of Denmark, where Danish is a very usual language, or else from Austria. Thousands of Austrians had as quite small children been given a warm welcome by the hospitable Danes during the last war. Now those very people, who had been saved by the Danish farmers from lying of starvation when they were children, recompensed their old hosts by coming and taking possession of their land!

On the whole the German soldiers behaved quietly and tactfully. The Danes were highly amused, however, when they saw the seven rules of conduct which the German supreme command had given their soldiers when going into Denmark. They ran like this:

"Every member of the defence forces must bear in mind that he has not set foot on enemy territory, but that the German troops have advanced into Denmark for the protection of the country and the safeguarding of its citizens.

"(1) The Danes have a strong national consciousness. Furthermore the Danish people feel themselves akin to the Scandinavian race.

"(2) The Dane is freedom-loving and self-reliant. He has no idea of military discipline and authority.

"Therefore: Give few orders, don't shout. It arouses in him a desire for opposition and is useless. Explain clearly and convince him. A humorous tone proves most effective. Unnecessary severity is wounding to self-respect and must be avoided.

"(3) The Dane possesses a peasant's cunning and artfulness to the point of insincerity.

"(4) The Dane is a materialist in outlook; his interests are chiefly in economic concerns; any restriction of his consumption comes especially hard to him.

"Therefore: Abstain, as far as possible, from interfering with his private property[!] 'Besorgen', 'organisieren' and the like are forbidden.

"(5) The Dane loves a homely, comfortable existence. He may be won over by friendliness, small attentions and personal recognition.

"(6) The Danish business-man has a leaning to England. He abhors war. Of Germany's national-socialist aims there is, except in a very few instances, no understanding.

"Therefore: Avoid political discussions.

"(7) The German language is understood by many Danes."

Equipped with this catechism, the German soldier was sent into Denmark. With him he also had a *Manual of Instruction in the Danish Language*.

Here are a few samples from the latter:—

"Be so kind as to direct me to the mayor of the city."

"Good day, Mr. Mayor! Will you show me the municipal cash-box!"

"If you do not hand over the cash-box willingly, Mr. Mayor, you will be shot."

One cannot but say that the German soldiers were taught a polite and charming mode of address!

But although the German soldiers had been instructed both in how to behave and how to talk, they did not manage to make any

sort of contact with the Danish people. The Danes simply did not see them. They stared through them as if they were made of air; they walked right through the ranks of marching columns, and if a German asked the way he got no answer: people just went on as if they had not heard anything. That was the beginning of the "cold shoulder" which later developed into such a fine—and varied—art.

When the first German officer came to the Town Hall of Copenhagen to greet the local authorities, he was met by one of the town clerks, Dr. Ernst Kaper. The German expressed his pleasure that the occupation had proceeded so smoothly, and said how much he admired Danish discipline.

"Discipline?" retorted the town clerk. "It is not discipline, it is good manners."

When, out of consideration for the town clerk's age, the officer made way for him to enter, Dr. Kaper said:

"Not at all! *Strangers* first!"

So saying, he had given the Germans the name by which they always came to be known later on: *The strangers*. The word implies both that the Germans are guests and not masters in the house, and that to us they are strange and alien.

The strangers were now met with the "cold shoulder". It may be a matter of opinion whether this "cold-shoulder" business does any good or not. You may say that, like the V-campaign, or like community-singing, etc., it diverts people's attention from the real matter in hand: resistance, active opposition to the Germans. But it has its active significance as well. All may have a hand in it—even the most timid.

The absurdity of people wearing all manner of badges in their button-holes disappears when you realise that the badges are a sort of visible census. When you go along the street and see all those flags and signs, it is as if you were present at a parade of all those who are taking part in the battle. There goes a Dane, you say to yourself, fortified by the knowledge that they are all Danes, those thousands and tens of thousands who demonstrate their state of mind by the badge in their button-holes. And the Germans cannot take these signs from us, as they tried to do in the case of the V-sign; for what we wear in our button-holes is either the King's portrait, the Danish flag, the Union Jack, the colours of the R.A.F. or the letters *D.K.S.* (Den kolde Skulder = the cold shoulder), *S.D.U.* (Smid dem ud = Chuck them out), *Klump* (Kongen leve! Ud med Pakket = Long live the King; out with the mob!), or we may wear three copper coins as a sign that the Germans shall not be permitted to steal our copper.

That is one side of the "cold shoulder's" activities. The other is to show the Germans one's contempt. There is always an empty space gaping in front of the German military bands when they hold their concerts. Nobody stands to listen; passers-by quicken their steps. I once witnessed how the Danish Guards took the shine out of the German band which was performing on the Raadhustplads. After a

few months' interval the King's Bodyguard had once more been given permission to march through the city to the Royal Palace, headed by its band. While the German players were in the middle of a number, the glad strains of the Guards' band were suddenly heard from one of the streets opening on to the square. People rushed to meet them; in a moment several hundreds had assembled. Hats were tossed into the air; people cheered and laughed and shouted "Hurrah!" Never did the drum-major twirl his stick more merrily than when he swung across the square, right under the noses of the German players, who had to come to a full stop in the middle of their number, while the Danish guards strode by, their feet beating a brisk tattoo on the pavement, and followed by a host of "street cowboys"—the Copenhagen cyclist messengers. It was a little ray of brightness in a hard and wretched year.

All can bear a hand in the "cold-shoulder" campaign. Restaurants patronised by Germans are shunned, and of course nobody invites German officers and soldiers to his house. One former Vienna child called, in uniform, to see his old foster-parents, of whom he was extremely fond. But they showed him the door. "We do not know you in uniform", they told him, "and we will not see you; but you will be welcome if you come back as a civilian after the war."

The German military newspaper in Copenhagen wanted to show the German soldiers how welcome they were in the town, so it brought out two full pages of illustrations of a Copenhagen home which had hospitably opened its doors to the Germans. Next day there was an eager hunt round in Copenhagen. Who was the family? It turned out to have been a German couple. The twenty-one Danish sheriffs—the highest officials in the whole country—absolutely refused to receive the German superior officers and officials in their homes. The Government compelled them to do so, however, and gave them a special sum of money, which *was to be used* for entertaining Germans.

Immediately after the occupation the German soldiers used *Wirtschaftsscheine* to pay for their purchases. These "Scheine" were German vouchers which the National Bank would convert into Danish money. But they proved so unpopular that they had to be withdrawn from circulation. When a German soldier paid with them in a shop, the proprietor of the shop would, for instance, say to his assistant, while the soldier waited and listened, "Run straight to the National Bank and get it changed," or he might say to the soldier, "Oh, you need not trouble about giving me the voucher; you may as well have the goods for nothing."

The shopkeepers had a special grudge against the Germans. The soldiers came and wanted to buy all sorts of things for their wives and sweethearts in Germany, and there were always lots of attractive things to be had in the Danish shops—so many, in fact, that the German authorities soon forbade the glittering display to which we are accustomed in Copenhagen, where the windows were always full of overflowing with lovely things. The German soldier must not see

that there could be such prosperity in a small, peace-loving country like Denmark. The tradespeople were enraged at having to give the Germans their wares. They knew that it would be difficult to replenish stocks, and they preferred to serve their old Danish customers. So they simply said No to the soldiers. They were very sorry, but they had no cigarettes—nor soap—nor materials. Then when the Germans had gone, they turned with a radiant smile to the Danish customer, standing by, and sold him—or her—the goods in question.

The only persons who broke through the ban which the Danes had placed on the Germans were the street-girls, and they took good care not to be seen doing so in public. They would have been spat upon and railed at—I have myself seen the highly respectable wife of an editor acquaintance of mine go up to a couple of girls on the Raadhusplads who had waved to some German soldiers, and administer a resounding box on the ears to each of them! One evening the youths of Elsinore caught half a score of young ladies whose frivolity had got the better of their sense of Danish citizenship, led them out of the town, and—by way of branding their folly—clipped off their hair. In Esbjerg a clergyman refused to confirm a girl who had been seen with a German, and in Aalborg a number of young women—wives and daughters belonging to the middle class—who had thrown shame to the winds, were arrested by the police, who then rang up their husbands and parents to come and fetch them from the police station.

Up through all the pain and humiliation the native Danish humour gaily sprouted. The man who exhibits *Ladhysskibet*, one of the most precious finds of recent years from the Viking times, made a company of German officers quit the hall in a rage by saying:

"Yes, that was one of those ships in which *we* conquered England."

In Elsinore the Germans threatened to close the apprentices' hostel, because all the boys had rushed to the open windows when a division of German soldiers marched through the narrow cobbled street, singing at the top of their voices: "*Wir fahren gegen Engelland*." From their windows the lads bawled in reply: "It's a long way to Tipperary."

The Danish newspapers—especially the provincial ones, which are beyond the reach of the censor's arm in Copenhagen—do some very useful work in this direction as well. Thus *Skive Folkeblad*, commenting on one of the usual German reports of an R.A.F. attack on Jutland, in which only a cow was hit, said:

"The cow burned for three days."

Then, now and again one comes across innocent-seeming old Danish proverbs in the papers. After some new German restrictions the *Aalborg Stiftstidende* wrote: "Facts are hard fellows." *Jyllands-posten* recalled another good old proverb: "The unbidden guest has most often a sharp knife and an empty belly."

Only a month or two after the occupation a small wood near Valle in Denmark was attacked by some voracious grubs—*Bøgennemlar*

ven (pale Jussock moth). For some weeks these creatures devoured every leaf and twig until the wood looked as if it had been burnt out by fire. This was a find. The whole country followed the onslaught of the grubs on the wood with the greatest interest and a sort of fellow-feeling. Gunnar Helweg-Larsen had the happy thought of printing in the *Kristeligt Dagblad* an article from an encyclopedia on the subject of this pale Jussock moth (Lat.: *Dasychira pudibunda*). Seemingly it came originally from Prussia, and there was no known means of getting rid of it. Only Nature herself could tackle it: when the grub had devoured everything there was in the wood, it died of hunger, and next year the wood was as fresh and green as ever. This article and some others, equally audacious, cost Helweg-Larsen his editorship.

German propaganda has not caught on in Denmark. Although there formerly existed a Dano-German Association, it was proposed to found a new one, with a great flourish of trumpets, after the occupation. Its task would be to show how great were the interest and understanding in Denmark for things German. Hr. P. Knutzen, General Manager of the Danish state railways, accepted the chairmanship, and a Board and Committee were formed, on which figured the names of everybody who was anybody in Denmark. Several people whose names were used had not even been consulted, and they speedily withdrew them; but a fair number of names was given. However, when the list came to be critically examined, it was found to be far from complete: large organisations and institutions like universities, higher education establishments, industrial and agricultural concerns and associations especially connected with Slesvig were not represented. As for those who had given their names, they had to run the gauntlet of wholesale disapproval, they were subjected to sheer terrorist treatment. One well-known university publisher was informed that he would never again be given a book by the professors, unless he immediately resigned. Several prominent actors from the Theatre Royal, who had rashly given their names, quickly regretted it—they simply did not dare to appear upon the stage—so they, too, withdrew their names. In spite of the State-supported campaign in its favour which was conducted all over the country, the total membership was only 800. And now, apparently, the Association is being wound up after a bare year's existence.

The German Academy, founded in the summer, had no better luck. A villa which Countess Musse Scheel had made over to the Germans was to be the meeting-place for Danish and German scientists, and in order to give this as good a start as possible, the opening ceremonies were to take place in the Assembly Hall of the university. But the university bluntly refused the Minister's request, although the King had promised to be present. Then the Minister conceived the excellent idea of hiring a hall in the National Museum.

Its name would throw a glamour over the festivities, and people outside Denmark could not know that any one may hire rooms for social functions from the custodian of the National Museum—even if it is for a carnival! However, the inauguration day was a disappointment, after all. When the German Minister went to meet his distinguished guests, the flag at the National Museum was flying at half-mast; and it was no use his upbraiding the museum authorities for this, for one of their oldest officials had died that very morning, and it has always been the custom here in Denmark to have the flags at half-mast on such occasions. The next disappointment awaiting the German Minister was when he went up to the royal carriage, bowing deeply to welcome His Majesty, when out of the carriage stepped—not the King, but his brother, Prince Harald. At the last moment the King had changed his mind and sent his excuses. All Denmark rejoiced that day, jeering at *the stupid Nazis*, as the Germans are usually called.

Final judgment over the “cold shoulder” cannot yet be pronounced. In the first place, it must not be forgotten that there are many Danes who know very well that it is not *enough* to show a contempt of the Germans—I shall come back to this later—and in the second, the steadily growing reprisals against those who demonstrate show that it irritates the Germans beyond measure. Proceedings are taken wholesale against small boys who shout rude remarks at German soldiers, or against a teacher who is accused of working for England by way of propaganda in his history lessons, etc.

The King’s appeal for “law and order” counted for a very great deal in the attitude of many a Dane. There was no sort of desire to run counter to it, because people have the greatest human and political confidence both in the King himself and in his views. At the same time, many a man is afraid that by an individual act—say a flight to England—he might do an injury to the mass of his fellows. As a Danish writer has said:

“I have come to the conclusion that mass-action is impossible and individual action not allowed. There are, in other words, situations where the comradeship of the brothel is more morally binding than morality itself.”

Superstition flourishes in bad times. The first book that the Germans prohibited in Denmark was a small volume called *Fanny*. This Fanny was a seer of royal descent who lived in Denmark in the middle of last century. It appeared that she had prophesied that after the last war Denmark would regain Slesvig, which the Germans had taken from her in 1864. She had likewise foretold that there would be another war—and a much worse one—after the World War, and that Denmark would be mixed up in it, and “men in brown shirts” would take possession of the country. So far everything fitted in very well. But then one day there would be a great battle north of Aabenraa, and the enemy would be driven out, and the Danish King

would tie his white horse to a tree a long way down in Germany. The frontier would be at that spot.

"But, Fanny," those hearing her foretell this had said, "we do not want the border-line so far down."

"That is not the point," replied Fanny. "The Germans have lost, and they have no money to pay with, so they must pay with their land."

A cold shudder ran down the backs of the Germans when they read that, and they speedily demanded the withdrawal of the book!

PART TWO

THE MODEL PROTECTORATE

CHAPTER FIVE

CAMOUFLAGED DICTATORSHIP

THERE IS no German Reich's Commissar in Denmark. King Christian continues to reside at Amalienborg Palace in Copenhagen; the royal standard floats from the castle, and Danish sentries, in their busbies, keep guard at the entrance.

Parliament meets and passes laws at Christianborg as it always did.

There is no German Court of Justice, and no German police are to be seen on the streets.

The ordinary Dane may never notice that there are Germans in the country. Of course he sees the "grasshoppers"—German soldiers in their grass-green field uniforms—but he may never know that the Germans are interfering in the administration and internal affairs of the country. It was one point in the "contract" of 9th April that Denmark was to continue her normal daily life.

But at the same time as the German army marched into Denmark, and took over the barracks, schools, ports and aerodromes, all the civil control posts were also taken over by Germans. Some of these came from Germany, but many had been residing in Denmark for years, and it is true of practically all of them that they speak excellent Danish. As a rule people from Slesvig have been chosen for the posts, but the man given control of the Danish radio announcements, a good-natured bishop from Bonn, said that he had been learning Danish for several years so as to be able to take over the post for which he had been chosen. On 7th April he was told to hold himself ready for a journey to Denmark.

The officer in supreme command of the German army of occupation, in succession to General Kaupisch, who shortly after the occupation joined the campaign in France, is General Luedke, a jovial, sociable man from Hamburg, who had retired from active service, and now tries to keep the German Embassy and its Nazis as far from himself as may be.

Supreme in political affairs is the Minister, von Renthe-Fink, who still stays at the Embassy headquarters in Kastelvej, although a large, new, and up-to-date suite of business premises—Dagmarhus on the Raadhusplads—has been pressed into the service of the Legation. The occupation and the extra amount of responsibility and work thus entailed have entitled Renthe-Fink to call himself the General

Plenipotentiary for the German Reich, in addition to holding the post of Minister.

Both the responsibility and the work have, moreover, to be shared with the Press Attaché, Dr. Gustav Meissner, a young man of thirty-two who, on the morning of the occupation, simply shoved to one side the former Attaché, P. K. Friclitz, and took the job for himself.

Dr. Meissner is a person of considerable importance. In the first place, he is known as one of "Ribbentrop's young men". When the present Reich's Minister for External Affairs was merely leader of Hitler's underground Foreign Ministry in the period of the von Neurath régime, he attached to himself about thirty young men, all of whom now hold positions of trust in the various occupied countries. Whereas the German Minister can only go to Berlin by the regular route, Meissner has direct and personal relations with Ribbentrop, whose guest he frequently is at Fuchselberg castle. But in addition to this, Dr. Meissner is the *Nazi Landesführer fuer Dänemark*, which means that he holds equal rank with his nominal superior, the German Minister. Noticing that they are very far indeed from seeing eye to eye in political matters at all times, the Danish Government may sometimes manage to exploit their differences of opinion.

Once, for instance, Dr. Meissner let Hr. Scavenius—Denmark's Foreign Minister—know that the Reich could no longer approve of a Social Democrat being at the head of affairs in the Danish kingdom. Hr. Stauning would have to go. Scavenius brought the matter up at the next Cabinet meeting in his usual aggressive tone, telling the Prime Minister to make up his mind speedily. Hr. Stauning was not as yet, however, in the mood to take orders from a German without knowing more about the matter—and in any case not through his Foreign Minister. So in a talk with the German Minister he tried to find out what lay behind this new action.

Hr. Renthe-Fink was amiability itself. "Dear Hr. Stauning," he said, "we are very far from dissatisfied with you. You must definitely stay on. If Berlin is not satisfied with its relations with the Danish Government, you might perhaps send a new Danish Minister to Berlin. You might, for example, send Erik Scavenius and take over the Foreign Ministry yourself. Might that not be the best solution?"

But it was not in the least the solution which Dr. Meissner and Erik Scavenius had thought out. So the ministerial storm died down.

Meanwhile the menacing shadow of Himmler hovers over the posts of both Renthe-Fink and Meissner. The supreme head of the German Gestapo is a very frequent visitor to Norway and Denmark. His permanent representative in Copenhagen was formerly a member of the Berlin police. He is *Obergruppenführer* (Supreme Group Leader) Kantstein, and his assistant is a Slesvig man, Dr. Johansen. They both reside at Dagmarhus. But when developments in Denmark are too slow, Himmler himself comes.

Press Attaché Meissner's chief duty was, of course, to keep a tight rein over the Danish Press. From the first day of the occupation—the 9th of April—the Germans started to take revenge on their old enemies. The worst of these was Nic. Blaedel, one of the editors of *Berlingske Tidende*. For years he had been warning his readers of the Nazi danger; he had branded their methods and shown how Hitler's sole aim was to subject to himself the whole of Europe. Blaedel's great knowledge and brilliant style had won a tremendous following for him in every one of the northern countries; his articles were printed throughout Scandinavia. He was too, the Danish radio's most popular political commentator. As long ago as the time of the Munich settlement the Germans had tried to jam him. They demanded that *Berlingske Tidende* should give its editor for foreign affairs compulsory leave of three months from the paper, and the directors agreed.

Many people had been expecting that Nic. Blaedel would be the first prisoner to be sent to a concentration camp on the 9th April. But the Danes were to be won over by kindness. They would be made to see that German terror tactics were a pure myth. Therefore the Germans confined themselves to the claim that Blaedel should at once be dismissed from the paper, and that he should exercise no sort of political activity at all. The same treatment was meted out to Franz von Jessen of the *Nationaltidende* and, a year later, to Gunnar Helweg-Larsen, chief editor of the *Kristeligt Dagblad*, who, in a clever blend of audacity and subtlety, had regularly commented on the progress of Germanisation.

Hr. H. P. Sørensen, the editor of Hr. Stauning's own paper—*Social-Demokraten*—was denounced to the German Minister by a deserter of the paper, the venerable Harald Bergstedt, because he had refused to print Bergstedt's sycophantic articles on his German tour. Sørensen was then made to print them; but in an introductory note he dissociated himself from them, saying that they did not express the views of his paper.

A well-known provincial editor and member of the Broadcasting Council—Knud Ree of Esbjerg—was arrested the very day of the occupation, and sent to Hamburg. He returned after some weeks, a broken man. He refused to say anything about his sojourn in Hamburg. He did, however, take up his work again.

The Social-Democratic organ in Aarhus—*Demokraten*—printed a leading article which led to the suppression of the paper for three days and to the compulsory resignation of the editor, Ejby Ernst.

Press censorship has been introduced. It is nominally exercised by Danish officials—the Press Bureau of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, under the leadership of K. J. Eskelund, the head of the department—but of course in conformity with daily instructions from Berlin. All foreign telegrams—in reality that can mean only telegrams from Berlin, Rome and Stockholm—have to be passed by the Press Bureau, which also gives directions as to the space to be

employed in setting-up the individual telegrams and, in certain cases, the wording of the heading as well.

The German Press Attaché expressed the wish that the Danish papers should, as far as possible, resemble their pre-invasion selves. The bright, cheerful tone which has always characterised Danish newspapers would make readers believe that there had been no tampering with the Press. But the readers refused to be fooled, and there was a catastrophic falling off in the output of papers.

It was far from easy for the Danish papers either to preserve their humour or to maintain the outward form of the old days. First and foremost they were forbidden to print the British *communiqués*, and a speech by Churchill, for example, would be cut about and twisted beyond recognition, sometimes entirely distorted.

Almost the only bright spot in the year which I spent as foreign news editor on the *Politiken*, after the occupation, was the intimate glimpse I had into German methods. The Foreign Ministry and the Propaganda Ministry were incessantly at loggerheads in Berlin. There might be five or six conflicting orders in the course of an evening, and while the one Ministry forbade any mention of a speech of Churchill's, the other might publish columns of disapproval and contradiction of the same speech. So your heading might run: "Sharp German Contradiction of a Speech Believed to Have Been Made by Churchill."

But you could not go very far without the censor intervening. A sharply worded complaint was once sent because I had put the telegram about the British monthly losses under Germany's aerial bombardment of London in the same column as the telegram containing the number of persons killed by traffic accidents in England. It was almost like saying that the losses in the air war were not so frightfully heavy, after all—which would never do!

As for materials from the home front, what with the censorship imposed in certain cases, and the instructions issued by the Press Bureau of the Foreign Ministry, we were snowed under with directions. Here are a few examples:

15/6/1940. In no circumstance may the daily Press publish any intimation or other article whatever regarding reunion days [days commemorating the restoration of Slesvig to Denmark after the world-war] or concerning interviews and the like, resulting from such reunion days or connected with the club meetings which may have been held.

22/6. Statements about clearing balances published by the National Bank must not be commented on.

21/7. On Friday afternoon an English plane was shot down over north Jutland. Two of the crew were taken prisoner. The machine was saved. On Sunday night an English flier dropped some bombs off the coast of south-east Seeland. One hit a fisherman's house, destroying it. The occupant, who had been asleep upstairs, was killed and his sixteen-year-old son severely wounded.

Regarding the above, no further particulars of any sort must be published—by the local Press either. Death announcements, if any, must be contained only in the phrase "has suddenly departed this life".

13/8. On Tuesday, between twelve noon and one o'clock, a squadron of twelve English bombers made an attack on the airport of Aalborg. They encountered strong German anti-aircraft fire, and were also attacked by German fighter machines. Five of the attacking machines were shot down by the German anti-aircraft fire and six by German fighters, so that only one English machine was able to go back. Only a very few Danes suffered injury in the attack, some seriously. One of the latter departed this life in the course of the afternoon. For the rest, apart from some bombs which fell in a field in the neighbourhood of Aalborg, killing some horses and other animals, there has been no other intimation of material or other damage.

To the foregoing report the papers may not attach over-detailed accounts from Aalborg. This applies to any amplification brought about by descriptions of the air combat based on eyewitnesses' accounts. These descriptions must not include details which may give further military intelligence beyond what the eyewitness at a distance is in a position to confirm with certainty. The local Press may give the names of the injured Danes, while the name of the dead man must be published in the whole Press. All the telegrams concerning the air attack on Aalborg sent out by the Deutsches Nachrichtenbüro are cancelled.

(The last sentence was interesting. The papers which, in the course of the day, had seen the telegrams sent out by the German Intelligence Bureau had the opportunity, for once in a way, to confirm for themselves how fantastically inaccurate these were. The German telegrams had shot down practically the whole English air force. This was so audacious that it did not do to let the Danes see it. The telegrams were therefore stopped. For the first time, the German military report could not be printed in the Danish papers either. It, too, contained a fabulous number of English airmen shot down, so had to be suppressed.)

22/7. The General Management of the State Railways announces that the ferry service between Elsinore and Helsingborg is temporarily suspended.

This announcement may be published only in the above form, and not set up in large type.

(The papers had many announcements of this kind to publish as time went on—until there were too many, and then nothing at all was said when the ferries were stopped. It was the English airmen who had been dropping mines. This sort of interruption to the ferry services must never be announced by the radio.)

Although it might well have seemed that so far-reaching a censorship would give the Germans the sort of Press they wanted, this was very far from being the case. The Danish editors—with only a few

exceptions—put up an admirable resistance. In the beginning, Dr. Meissner complained that he noted an absence of understanding of things German in the Danish Press; he added that he longed for “heartiness”. Later his remarks were more severe. On the 25th April, 1941, when the occupation had lasted a whole year, he called together the principal editors of the Danish Press for a general discussion.

His speech to them gave the distinct impression that things were going none too well with German activities in Denmark.

Dr. Meissner began by saying that he had to address a serious warning to the Danish editors. He had hoped that, after the occupation, the Press would give the Danish population a clearer, truer (i.e., German) picture of the situation in Europe, while at the same time illuminating the Dano-German situation “in the right way”. But he had soon been disappointed, he said.

By September of 1940 (when the big attack on London was beginning in earnest) “*a state of unrest had been created in Denmark which might easily have led to conflict, if on the German side we had not, with the greatest patience, found a way out of the dilemma. In autumn and winter we encountered a very difficult mood in Denmark. It was perfectly clear that in its daily work the Press here built to a much greater extent on that mood than on a regard for the actual political situation.*”

Dr. Meissner next mentioned that at that point Professor Vinding Kruse of Copenhagen took the initiative in creating better relations between the Press and the Germans. “Lines upon which collaboration could be carried out were on that occasion established, in order to check any difficulties in the way of a satisfactory solution. In spite of the fact that the Reich’s highest representative in this country [Renthe-Fink] was present at the conversation in question, nothing came of the fine words. The praiseworthy initiative which we had a right to expect after it never materialised. We went forward into the new year with a *very difficult frame of mind among the population*. The momentarily unfavourable situation [the lull over the war front during the winter months] had given some Danes the impression that the progress of Germany’s war might had been checked. The Press took pains to crack up events in North Africa and the Balkans to such an extent that the people of Denmark were led to believe that the war situation and the relative balance of armed might had completely changed.”

Dr. Meissner was particularly dissatisfied with the way in which “the American encroachment in Greenland” had been treated.

“I had imagined [he said] that Danish national consciousness, which, as we all know, is daily emphasised in the Press, would have given you gentlemen, as editors, the chance to make independent comments as an expression of your own sentiments in this connexion, and I am *perfectly well aware of the reaction produced in the population by the said occurrence. It is steadily becoming more and more evident how*—

natural, dignified lines which best become a Danish Liberal daily in the present circumstances.

The first penalty of imprisonment for subversive activities was passed in August 1941 on Dr. Vilhelm la Cour, an historian of note, specially interested in the work of the national frontier movement. In the first place he was forced to give up his position as editor of the Slesvig monthly periodical *Graensevagten*. He then took up work as lecturer and pamphleteer. Two of his pamphlets were published, *Om at sige Ja—og Nej* (Whether to say Yes and No) and *Ord til os I Dag* (Words to Us To-day). They were both confiscated, but the Danish police deliberately went to work so slowly that the pamphlets—22,000 copies—were out of sight before they came. La Cour was sentenced to eighty days' imprisonment, and his publisher, Arne Sørensen, to sixty days. *Words to Us To-day* was a running commentary on the German philosopher Fichte's famous fourteen speeches to the German nation during the Napoleonic war, when the French army were in occupation of the whole of Prussia.

At the Nuremberg party congress in 1929 Dr. Alfred Rosenberg, leader of German *Kultur*, had declared that Fichte was the philosopher of deeds; he was in reality a pioneer of the Nazi movement of more than 100 years later. Another Nazi—Dr. Ludwig Schemmann—had declared that Fichte's words deserved to be inscribed in letters of gold in every race-teacher's catechism as well as in every father-land's breviary.

But now, suddenly, the Danish people must not read the speeches of the German philosopher. They contained words of resistance and rebellion against the alien oppressors. Fichte was thinking of the French army, la Cour of the German, when he reported his speeches. Fichte's challenge to the young German students might be summed up in these words: Believe fully and entirely in that which can truly sustain you, and do not be satisfied with "contemplation", but stride forth to action. Stand by your word; otherwise you are not a man, and unworthy of your people.

La Cour described how Fichte awoke to national consciousness—and his words were as if coined for the situation in Denmark to-day. Fichte had at first let himself be borne along in the confusion of the moment after the French occupation of Prussia, but some months after the fall of Berlin he had found himself again. He was too manly a character to give up, and the bitter experiences of the time were necessary to send him into action.

La Cour continues:

"This humiliation at being unable to act freely, this bitterness on encountering spies everywhere, this vexation at the sight of occupation troops in all the streets of Berlin and the knowledge that they are strutting about in the same way in every town and fortress of Germany, on her roads and in her ports! But still worse was the depressing thought that not everybody reacted to those humiliations as he did himself; that certain persons could lower

themselves to fraternise with the enemy, that prostitutes received them gladly and that they poisoned the mind of youth. In the aliens' wake followed, too, a stream of non-German ideas—foreign world-conceptions and foreign catchwords. Then came an agitation for a 'universal monarchy' under the leadership of France, and if this were realised it would make permanent the state of enslavement. Worthless rogues here and there went sniffing after gain by placing themselves at the disposal of the foreigners, talking their tongue, excusing, explaining, recommending. *Pfui!*—as the Germans say.

"How could all that be changed? . . . Nearly the whole of Europe lay under the heel of the little, black-a-vised Corsican. Now he was turning his attention to Russia; but could it withstand him?

"And if it failed, then there was none other to set one's hopes on but England—ay, that old, tough, fabulously slow and fabulously tenacious England. In that case she would be freedom's last bulwark in Europe. Civilization's bulwark. What a debt would one not owe to England if that land, after years of struggle, saved all the other nations from oppression. A German would never be able to forget that. . . ."

La Cour's description of Fichte's awakening and of the state of affairs during the Napoleonic wars was, of course, taken by the Danish readers as a bold comparison with existing circumstances in Denmark.

After introducing the German philosopher, the pamphlet goes on to give a *résumé* of the fourteen speeches; they are expounded and commented on. For having written an article on these same speeches the Norwegian author Ronald Fungen got eight years' imprisonment. There is the difference between Norway and Denmark!

Before Vilhelm la Cour and his publisher Arne Sørensen were confined to prison, they were received in audience by King Christian!

During the first months after the occupation Denmark was completely cut off from other countries. There were no papers from neutral countries, and naturally none from England and France either. Then the Swedish and Swiss papers were permitted to come in, and it was once more possible to write to foreign neutral countries and to receive letters from them, even though they were censored by the Germans. Letters inside the country are not censored.

Crowds of German young women in uniforms were at once installed in the chief telephone offices, where they exercise—it must be admitted—an exceedingly mild sway. Not all conversations are listened to—only on certain telephones belonging to suspected persons is this constantly liable to occur. Even in those cases, however, you may express yourself very frankly about the Germans—you can call them "swine" if you have a mind to! Only when you refer to military or political matters is your conversation interrupted, but beyond that nothing.

The Danish radio, of course, came under censorship at once; one

The second great man in the Stauning Government was the Radical leader, Dr. Peter Munch, a quiet scholar, an idealist and a warm admirer of Lord Robert Cecil. A Conservative editor wrote that Munch as a politician was "characterised by steadfastness of ideas and purposes, but at the same time by the pliancy of a realist in politics when confronted with untoward circumstances. His personality displays certain aristocratic traits which make an impression even on his political opponents."

The "untoward circumstances" were for Munch Nazi Germany. Actually he is neither pro-Nazi nor pro-German. He is a pacifist in every fibre, and the League of Nations has had no more enthusiastic or loyal member than he.

Seldom has fate been harder on an idealistic politician than it has on Peter Munch. Although a pacifist, as Minister of Defence during the first World War he was obliged to make the biggest military preparations there had ever been in Denmark; and Hitler's Germany, which no one hated worse than he, compelled his realist conceptions to grant it one favour after another. On the 17th April, 1935, he was the only one who voted against the League of Nations condemnation of Hitler's illegal rearmament—and he did so for the sake of the northern counties. At the London conference in March 1936, when the question of sanctions against Germany was raised, because Hitler had gone into the Rhineland, he voted against the sanctions. Lastly, on the 31st May, 1939, just a year before Denmark was occupied, he accepted Hitler's offer of a non-aggression pact.

He had gone far to meet his powerful southern neighbour—much too far, the majority of the Danish people thought—and so when a sacrifice was demanded on 9th April, *he* was the sacrifice. He had never been popular in Denmark.

The position of the parties in the Danish Parliament when the occupation took place, and as it still is to-day, is as follows:

The Prime Minister's party—*Social-Democrats*: 64 members in the Lower House (35 in the Upper).

Liberals, the large Farmer party: 30 (18).

Conservative People's Party (Christmas Møller's party): 26 (13).

Radical Liberals (Dr. Munch's party): 14 (8).

Peasant Party, a Nazi Farmer party: 4 (1).

Federal League: 3 (0).

Communist Party: 3 (0).

Nazis (Frits Clausen): 3 (0).

United Party (on the Faroes): 1 (1).

Slesvig Party (German minority in Slesvig): 1 (0).

Thus the Government had a solid majority: 78 of the Lower House's 149 members and 43 of the Upper House's 76 members.

Naturally enough, when the trouble came, nobody thought of

holding debates and apportioning responsibility. The one idea in the minds of all the big parties was to stand firmly by the Government—and the King.

Christian X came to exercise a decisive influence on the attitude of the whole nation to the new situation, and he several times took an active part in the politics of the country. Immediately after the occupation the first reconstruction took place in the Government. The two large opposition parties—the Liberals and the Conservatives—each chose three members who were admitted to the Cabinet as advisory Ministers. These were, on the Liberal side: Dr. Krag, Søren Brorsen and Hauch, a member of the Upper House and one of Danish agriculture's most important representatives; on the Conservative side: Hasle, Fibiger and Christmas Møller.

This Government lasted barely three months, when a new reconstruction was found to be necessary. The parties themselves wanted a simplification of the Government—it was far too unwieldy, with its nineteen Ministers. That, however, was not the decisive factor: the new reconstruction took place because both the King and the Germans wanted a change.

Among the population there was a great lack of confidence in Dr. Munch as Foreign Minister. Not at all because it was thought that he would show himself too amenable to the Germans, but because he was considered to have been responsible for the policy which had collapsed with the occupation. As leader of quite a small party, Dr. Munch had defiantly carried out his disarmament policy, although an ever-growing number of the Social-Democrats had been in favour of an increase in defence preparations.

King Christian shared this antipathy to the Foreign Minister. The occupation had been a sort of condemnation of his policy; now he had to go. The King had, moreover, his own candidate for the post: the former Radical Foreign Minister, Erik Scavenius. It was not that the King had any special personal or political sympathy with Scavenius, but that he thought that the present situation demanded a Foreign Minister in whom the Germans would have confidence; and they had confidence in Scavenius! It was wise, therefore, in regard to the Germans, to choose him.

The demands made by the Germans were more comprehensive. In the first place, they had a decided distrust for the then Minister of Justice, Unmack-Larsen, who had succeeded Steincke only six months previously. Unmack-Larsen had shown himself the reverse of amenable during the three months of the occupation which had elapsed; he must therefore be the first to go.

Their other demands were part of a bigger plan. They had promised to abstain from interfering in the country's interior politics, and in any case the time was not ripe for a Nazi Government under Frits Clausen. So they would follow a roundabout course. From the very beginning the Germans had found a certain amount of understanding among a small circle of industrialists and engineers. They were people not altogether averse from totalitarian ideas

absolutely convinced that he is right. By temperament he is all for authoritarian policy: he despises the opinion of the people. A colleague asked him sarcastically one day whether it would not be ideal for him if there were no people *at all*, so that he could sit at his ease and rule as he had a mind to!

When Germany attacked Russia on the 22nd June, 1941, he gave his contempt for the people's opinion an even more marked expression than in the declaration which he published when he first came into power. The reaction of the Danish people to this fresh extension of the war was extraordinarily sound and logical. Propaganda concerning the great Communist danger which threatened all Europe never caught on seriously in Denmark. But on the very first day of the war, Scavenius recalled the Danish Minister in Moscow. Resentment over this was great throughout the country, and on 26th June the Government was compelled to issue a statement explaining the diplomatic break with Russia, which was all the more singular seeing that Denmark still maintains diplomatic relations with Germany's chief enemy, England. Here is the statement:

"Armed Europe has entered on a new phase, which claims our attention in a special degree, because Germany has turned her weapons eastward, and is fighting a Power which has for years threatened Scandinavian welfare and development. The attack on Finland in 1939 gave substance to Scandinavia's fear of danger from the East. The wave of sympathy which welled up for our gallant brethren in their fight sweeps over the Danish people now also, as the fight is resumed after the Russian attack on Finland[!].

"This time Finland does not fight alone, but with other European countries battling under German leadership to consolidate another social order worthy of European culture. The struggle is in the common interest of Europe, and it will decisively preserve the European countries from internal social decay. Denmark does not take part in arms, but the common interest of Europe demands that Denmark should not remain impassive. Recognition of this fact is expressed in the recall of the Danish legation from Moscow."

In this declaration the Danish Foreign Minister wholeheartedly approves of the German attack on Russia, which he says is in the common interest of all Europe.

In the beginning the formal head of the Government, the Prime Minister Stauning, held himself strictly aloof from the policy of Scavenius. Collaboration between the two men, who frequently did not see each other to talk to for weeks on end, was at the lowest possible ebb. However, Scavenius had the more dominating personality, and presently the Prime Minister had very little to learn from his Foreign Minister in the way of flattering speeches to the Germans.

Hr. Stauning has fallen a victim to the Vichy mentality. Originally he did undoubtedly wish to show resistance to German aggression, but after the fall of France his faith in England's ability to win disappeared, and resistance was transformed into willingness to co-operate. Once gripped by the Vichy mentality, one step leads to another, and it is impossible to turn back.

In March 1941 Hr. Stauning made a speech at the Students' Union in Copenhagen, in which he declared that *he could not see that any other country than Germany could win this war*, and in August of the same year he said in an interview to the Swedish pro-Nazi propaganda paper *Aftonbladet* that "every one in Denmark was convinced that new conditions would be established in Europe, and Germany would be the country which would, in future, be regarded as Europe's central power."

His choice of words was decidedly unhappy when he said, on the occasion of his twelfth anniversary as Prime Minister, that the 9th April had given him "an unpleasant surprise". Surely there could never be a more disgustingly mild description of the German attack on Denmark!

How did the other members of the Government adjust themselves to the submissive policy of Scavenius?

Of several it may be said that they only regarded themselves as professional Ministers, whose exclusive task it was to get on with their job as honestly and quietly as possible. Others, like the Social-Democratic Minister of Finance, Hr. Buhl, the Liberal Minister for Internal Affairs, Knud Kristensen, and the Radical Minister of Education, Jørgen Jørgensen, undoubtedly saw that they also had a responsibility in regard to the policy of the Government as a whole. They retain their posts simply because they do not wish to destroy the hope of collaboration which the majority of the people wanted, originally at any rate, because it kept out a Government composed entirely of Quislings.

The new Minister of Transport, the thirty-eight-year-old Gunnar Larsen, on the other hand, became at once one of the most ardent supporters of Scavenius. When he used to officiate as head of the great international firm he had inherited from his father, he liked to be considered strongly pro-British and pro-American in his outlook. He acted the part of the international financier: flew every morning from his estate in Jutland over to Copenhagen, where he did his business, and then flew back again in the evening. Now he became an easy victim of the Nazi top dogs, accepted invitations to Berlin, and was duly impressed when Ribbentrop lectured him for hours together on the mysteries of the Nazi cult.

Long ere this his business friends in England had lost confidence in him. After the war broke out, when he was on a visit to London, several of his old associates asserted that he undoubtedly wanted the Germans to win. In the Swedish papers—and in the Danish as well—

frightful summer in this catastrophic year! And there was no tiring of them. That human sea boiled and seethed; one moment with enthusiasm, the next with rage. They booed and hissed when Germany's name was mentioned. And dotted about the hall were those who took notes of the whole affair for the benefit of the German Minister.

Renthe-Fink had always hated Christmas Møller: it was a purely personal hatred. He refused to come to the opening of the Parliament because he could not there have escaped meeting Christmas Møller as a Minister. He had all his telephone conversations listened to. He had fifth-column men sitting on the Conservative committee. When Christmas Møller had, in confidence, given this committee certain particulars, a report of them lay on Renthe-Fink's table the same day.

Now the German Press drummed up another campaign against Christmas Møller, and attacked the Government for not having forbidden his speeches. *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* said on the 19th December:

"It can scarcely be denied that the internal political opposition in Denmark has grown stronger. This affects the country's external policy in relation to Germany. An attack on Danish Nazis and Germans of the same way of thinking is considered as an attack on the German Reich. It cannot be overlooked that Stauning has taken no notice of Hr. Christmas Møller's attack on German Nazism."

Then the German Minister flew to Berlin. In his dispatch-case were the short-hand notes of Christmas Møller's telephone talks and other things. They were not altogether pretty words that the Conservative leader had spoken. He had a habit of referring to the Nazis as "swine". Renthe-Fink was boiling with rage; now Christmas Møller would be done for. However, the German Minister had a good many other points on his programme, which he only needed the authorisation of the Reich Government to carry out. He remained in Berlin for a week, and then returned by plane on Christmas Eve. He sent for Scavenius at once. This was the crisis of which we shall hear later.

As for Christmas Møller, it ended with his having to relinquish his seat in Parliament and all his activities in the Conservative Party. This he did on 10th January, 1941. Renthe-Fink had got rid of his worst opponent.

The circle of people well affected to the invaders, and made up in the main of engineers, big industrialists and proprietors, who with the Germans' help had procured a seat for Gunnar Larsen in the Government, had not been idle after the ministerial reconstruction in July. They were few in number, but very influential. There were different groups of them, each group working for its own special aim. Some were planning to acquire power for themselves within

the Nazi Party, and to throw Frits Clausen out of his position as leader. Others wanted a business Ministry in which there would be no politicians at all.

Among those who had dreamt of the conquest of the Nazi Party was the former Liberal Minister and landowner Madsen-Mygdal. His attempt to swing the Liberals over in the authoritarian direction was a complete failure. For some years he really had been the *Høvding* (chief) of the Danish landowners, and had an influence which was quite unusual in Danish political life. Now he talked to deaf ears at the meetings of the Liberal Party. It was perhaps natural, then, that he should look round for other followers, and for some months there was a general idea that he would be the first Minister of a Nazi Government. But possibly the experiences in Norway had an alarming effect; in any case, Hr. Madsen-Mygdal disappeared from the limelight late in the autumn, and in the early part of 1941 was succeeded as leader of his party by the Minister for Internal Affairs, Knud Kristensen.

Those working for a business Government chose a delegation who were to seek an audience with the King; they intended to point out that the parliamentary system had collapsed, and that Denmark must show a spirit of accommodation to Germany by electing a Government composed entirely of men who were willing to maintain a realistic policy with regard to Germany. What a realistic policy meant in this connexion one might well guess.

The King sent word to the delegation that if it were political questions they wanted to discuss with him, his Prime Minister, Hr. Stauning, would have to be present at the meeting. On these terms, however, the delegation did not wish to negotiate. But one of its members, the former Minister Høst, availed himself of the right appertaining to every past or present Minister, and asked for a private interview with the King.

At this interview Hr. Høst explained to the King what it was that the delegation desired. But King Christian absolutely refused to discuss the possibility. No Government other than the Parliament was to be formed, said the King. "If a Government is forced upon me without the will of Parliament, I shall abdicate." The King informed Hr. Høst that he would tell the Prime Minister what had taken place. A few days afterwards Hr. Stauning was able to state in the Lower House that *the composition of the Government could be altered only in conformity with constitutional methods. No member of the Government, he said—nor the King either—would act apart from the Parliament, which was the body chosen to represent the people.*

The King's cousin, Prince Axel, who, in addition to being Admiral of the Fleet, is Director and Chairman of the great Danish firm East Asiatic Company, had frequently been named as the possible head of a business Government; but it is very doubtful whether the Prince himself knew anything about these plans. There has never been any reason to question the Prince's attitude. Among the men who worked most zealously for this scheme were the former

avoided. A firm and constant pressure on the Government's leading men was all that was necessary. The new Minister of Justice, Harald Petersen, King's Counsel, was to be the next victim of the Germans.

The existing Danish laws refused to be bent to the German system. They were the laws of a free and mature people, gradually built up on King Valdemar's 700-year-old Jutlandish law and his famous introduction thereto: "With law shall the country be built. But if every man would do what was right, there would be no need for any law." The newest and most liberal ideas out of the legislation of other lands had been adopted. Here there was full publicity; here the members of the jury were themselves men of the people; here was the right to think, to speak and to write freely.

Gradually the Germans now began to corrupt the Danish judicial system. During the year that Harald Petersen acted as Minister of Justice, before the Germans brought about his downfall, he was obliged—good, honest Dane as he was—to be a party to the violation of the spirit of Danish justice time after time.

The first break with a civilised country's administration of justice was the enactment of a penal law *having retroactive effect*. So far, this had only been seen in Germany during the time of the Reichstag fire trial. Now such a law was passed in Denmark on 17th January, 1941.

By 25th January the first sentence after the introduction of the new penal regulations had already been passed. Lieut.-Col. P. T. A. Ørum, second in command in the Danish air force, was condemned to imprisonment for life for anti-German espionage. This espionage sentence caused a great stir among the people, but one comforted oneself with the reflection that "for life" meant only "for the duration of the war". Then a certain Flight Lieutenant Jessen was also condemned: he was given fourteen years' imprisonment; a Second Lieutenant got eight years and a Flight Mechanic three years.

Lieut.-Col. Ørum had been arrested in Berlin, when on his way to South America. From there he intended travelling to England and joining the R.A.F. When he was caught he had on him, unfortunately, drawings of all Germany's aerodromes and military objectives in Denmark. When the sentence was made known, the Danish Minister of Justice stressed the fact that the German Supreme Command in Denmark had had the right to claim that this case should be tried by German military law, when a death-sentence would have been pronounced on the accused. "But as a sign of German generosity, the Supreme German Command had permitted the case to be tried in accordance with Danish justice, on condition that the penalty laid down should be in proportion to the serious character of the crime."

This was a typical example of the Germans' behaviour in Denmark. The public should be made to understand that the German authorities had shown an unusual degree of magnanimity, whereas the truth was that the Germans were at the same time foisting on the country a law which meant a definite breach of the principles of

Danish administration of justice, but which they thought necessary because of the steadily growing resistance and unrest among the people.

The fact is that the case of Lieut.-Col. Ørum, which came to the knowledge of the Germans thanks to the presence of a spy in the Danish flying corps, revealed the existence of a widespread plot. Not only was there an extensive espionage system directed against Germany, but a considerable number of young men had successfully been mustered, who would try by every possible means to get to England in order to fight against Germany. Luckily the Germans did not manage to unravel all the threads in this affair.

The many new penal regulations and the harshness of the sentences show that public feeling in Denmark had, even by this time, almost reached the pitch of desperation, and might presently get beyond the control of both Danish and German authorities.

The new penal regulations included the following:

Any person spreading rumours likely to damage the interests of Denmark in regard to countries abroad (that is, Germany) will be punished, even if the rumours are not passed on publicly, with a term of imprisonment not exceeding one year.

In so far as it is a question of particulars concerning military objectives the punishment is for life.

Life-sentence may, further, be passed on any person

(a) who serves in the forces of Germany's enemies or who renders these enemies assistance likely to endanger the German military forces;

(b) who destroys, damages or makes away with war material used by the Germans;

(c) who, moreover, performs actions of a similar nature which may injure Denmark's interests in relation to Germany.

The regulations also included acts committed by Danish citizens outside Danish territory. However, seeing that these could not be punished by imprisonment, it was decided that their property in Denmark could be confiscated.

In May there followed new laws, doing away with trials by jury, which Denmark had introduced in imitation of the English judicial system. It was feared now that jurymen might chatter and betray any secrets they may have learnt during the trial of a case. In all political matters and matters affecting a "foreign Power" the co-operation of a layman was now forbidden. It was further established that people might not always have the right to engage their own solicitor. This held good especially in the event of the matter affecting the "safety of the State" and the relations to foreign Powers, and "where any other special circumstance makes it desirable".

People living outside Denmark have not heard much about the Danish law courts and their activities, and, of course, what happened was a small thing compared with what happened in other oppressed

lands, whence came accounts of big raids, death-sentences and the like. In Denmark life went on pretty much as usual—so people thought. Yet the law courts were overburdened. To spread rumours was, as a rule, merely to relate what was actually taking place. It was spreading "rumours" to mention the Customs Union with Germany; it was "rumours" to speak of the handing over of warships to Germany; it was "rumours" to refer to some fresh political pressure on the Danish Government. But the "rumours" were almost always truth.

The German Reich Government's memorandum of 9th April, on the aims and purposes of its military action in Denmark, had been sprinkled with promises. One after another of these were now broken: the country was being economically fleeced; prominent politicians were forced out of office; writers were arrested; a censorship was introduced. More than that, the Germans openly discussed the rôle which was allotted to Denmark under "the new order", and which gave to the country the functions and place of a vassal State. No wonder the whole country was in a ferment. Time after time the Prime Minister had to repeat the King's appeal for order and tranquillity. As a warning, the heavy sentences of imprisonment imposed for insults to the Germans, sabotage and demonstrations were given full publicity.

In the early days, as we have said, it had been possible to maintain relations with Sweden without much check. Swedish newspapers were available to readers, and the great liberal-minded *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfartstidning* had a circulation in Denmark of some 6000 copies. Then it was forbidden, and with it three other papers of the same tendency, as well as a number of Swedish books. Presently regulations for travelling were tightened, and finally, after the successful flight of some Danes to England via Sweden, travel to Sweden was prohibited altogether.

In July 1941 Denmark was divided up into a so-called "Protected Zone"—this enclosed practically all Jutland—and the rest of the country, where travelling without any sort of papers or passes was still permitted. All those who lived in the protected zone had to have a special pass, and people wishing to visit Jutland had to have this pass also. This regulation affected about 2 million Danes, who now were obliged to have identity papers. One Danish Minister who went to Aarhus without a pass was turned back and had to pay a fine.

The protected zone of Jutland was actually a war-zone. The taking of photographs was prohibited there. There was a long list of names of persons who were forbidden entry to this part of the country.

At the same time a large number of coastguards were posted at the ports in Jutland. Every fisherman's cutter had to be provided with a pass, and permit inspection before going to sea. The great fear was an attempted escape to England.

In order to put all the new regulations into force many more police were required. Immediately after the occupation large numbers of the so-called civil-defence men were recruited. They were young

men of military age, and were to be seen, in their natty blue uniforms, patrolling the streets alongside the regulars. It was not long before they were nicknamed "the foals". But then it was found necessary to have well-armed police, because of the frequent clashes which occurred in the provincial towns, especially in Slesvig, between Danish Nazis and the population. The police force was doubled; thousands were taken into the service. They were equipped with the most modern arms and with swift cars, and one could see them at any hour of the day or night on patrol all over Jutland.

Street-fights then became a fairly regular feature. These occurred in places like Roskilde and Haderslev, and a good many Danish police were wounded. In Roskilde German soldiers in uniform took part in the fight side by side with Danish Nazis. Many arrests were made in both towns among the Nazi disturbers of the peace; next morning, however, the German Minister asked for their release. And they were released. On the other hand, the Danish King sent his greetings to the police who had been wounded by Germans and Nazis.

In June 1941 came the episode which led to the fall of the Minister of Justice, Harald Petersen. On the anniversary of the Constitution, the 5th June, there was a football match between the German club *Admira* and a Danish club. Of course the German guests could not let slip the opportunity of demonstrating with their Nazi salutes and their shouts of "Heil Hitler!" A counter-demonstration was promptly started by the Danish spectators. The police intervened and made over fifty arrests - naturally only a mere fraction of those who had taken part in the demonstrations. The Danes had developed no little skill in creating confusion around an episode of this sort, so that the originator of this one managed to escape under the very noses of the Danish police and the German soldiers when they were attempting to make arrests.

This football demonstration developed into an affair of more consequence. The German Minister stated that the Danish police were no longer masters of the situation and must therefore have German police in control of them. At the same time the Minister of Justice would have to resign and the persons who had been arrested be very severely dealt with. Hr. Renthe-Fink made this request of the King personally, but the latter asked that the Government in Berlin should forward its demands in writing. It might be a good thing, on the one hand, to know whether it was not the German Minister who was personally looking for trouble, and on the other, to have the demands duly presented in writing. So they arrived in note form from Berlin.

The Danish Government associated itself with the note in all but the last two points. On 13th June Scavenius, the Foreign Minister, called together the chief Press editors. His manner on that occasion was unusually irritable and high-handed. He announced the resignation of Harald Petersen from the post of Minister of Justice, stating that he would be succeeded by the National Police

Chief, Hr. Thune Jacobsen. At the same time he instructed the Press to announce, in the largest possible head-lines, the sentences on the fifty arrested persons. The sentences would be hard, said the Foreign Minister: there would be terms of imprisonment up to one year.

An editor then asked the Foreign Minister whether, in his opinion, it would not have an unfortunate effect on the Danish public, that such harsh sentences should be passed on demonstrations of relatively small importance. Scavenius answered:

"For a whole year we have submitted to a reign of terror promoted by *national susceptibilities*; it is high time for the Danes to realise that there is more at stake than that."

However, the demand for a German Police Superintendent had been turned down. All the same, the right contact between Police and Minister of Justice had been provided for by making the National Police Chief Minister of Justice. In the words of Stauning: "The Minister of Justice now has direct control of the Police." In reality, therefore, the new Minister would be a Police Minister. With this the Germans had to be content in the meantime.

It was Thune Jacobsen who had created the still young organisation of the National Police, and in building up his system he had had assistance from the Berlin police. When Himmler came to Copenhagen he never missed a chance of conferring at great length with Thune Jacobsen, and as soon as the latter was appointed to his new duties—on 8th July—a delegation of German police officials of superior rank came to Copenhagen, and were the new Minister's guests for some days.

In an article in the Danish police magazine Hr. Thune Jacobsen very soon aired his own particular views on the duties of the police during the occupation.

He wrote:

"Criminals who plunder and murder in cold blood, and incendiaries who destroy inestimable treasure, are to-day not nearly so dangerous as those who transgress the King's command concerning a defiant attitude to the armies of occupation. For one can render the first category of criminals harmless by putting them in prison. *The Police are to-day the most important authorities in Denmark. We must say good-bye to weakness*, we must not permit ourselves to be stopped or hindered by thoughtless people who do not understand that the Police must first of all enforce the King's orders in both spirit and letter."

A number of new sections of the Danish police were now created, and members of these sections were sent to Germany to learn the new methods. Then within the police force itself that sub-section which acknowledged its adherence to Nazi principles pushed its way to the front. There were not many men in this little inner section—only sixteen—moreover, almost all of them had been concerned in an illegal coffee deal. The leader of this group, Count Jørgen

Knuth, published an appeal to all the Danish police to become Nazis. They would then—so he proclaimed—“fight Jewish Marxism on the inner Danish front. The time has come for us to drop our masks and show clearly our hatred for Communism [this was before the attack on Russia]. *Those who oppose Nazism are traitors to the new Europe and traitors to Denmark. Their names will be remembered, and we shall soon settle with them.*” So the police were beginning now to threaten those who resisted.

In Germany they thought that the new Police Minister was the right man. The *Nord* Press Agency wrote:

“The appointment of Thune Jacobsen is to be hailed with joy in Germany. His marked interest in the cultural union between Denmark and Germany and in the *Nordische Gesellschaft* are highly appreciated in Germany. He has taken an active part in all institutions which promote a good understanding between the two countries, and from the German side he will have personal sympathy in his *new and most important work.*”

Yes, it was indeed highly important work that the new Minister of Justice was about to begin, and he went to it in a willing and hearty spirit. “Hailed with joy in Germany”—the Danish people were soon to realise that “*the police are to-day the most important authorities in Denmark*”. Denmark, once a judicial State, was now a police State.

The Danish police could have found plenty to occupy them in another direction—the German soldiers. That the morals of the latter had in any way changed for the better since the last World War was a pure invention. Denmark is a country in which murder is classed as one of the biggest—and rarest—happenings; there may not be one murder in a whole year; yet scarcely had the Germans set foot in the country before a gardener at Korsør was murdered. Danish newspaper-readers wondered greatly why such a neutral matter as a murder could not be handled in the usual way. The mystery was explained when it turned out that it was a German soldier who had committed the murder—an ordinary robbery and murder combined, and all for the sake of a few pairs of socks and some other articles of clothing. The papers were not permitted to devote more than three lines to the story. The soldier was executed in Hamburg.

In Store Kongensgade, Copenhagen, two Danish marines got into a brawl with two German soldiers over a couple of women customers in a café. The waiter managed to quieten them down, and the Germans departed. When, shortly afterwards, the marines left the café, they were attacked from behind in the dark street by the German soldiers, who had been lurking in a cellar doorway. One of the Danes had his stomach slit open by a German bayonet, and died on the spot. The other, after lying for months between life and death, died in the National Hospital.

tainly there are in Denmark, as in other countries, some impatient and plundered people who would take the risk of an open conflict in the country in order to get back to 'the right lines' again."

Was it because the Danish Government found that the "breaking-point at which desperation must explode" was so dangerously near that they had to introduce that regiment of police? Or was it a German requirement? And if so, for what purpose?

It is a fact that in Denmark—more especially immediately after the Russian conflict—an unprecedented unrest and excitement had manifested themselves among the people, and cases of demonstration and sabotage were daily on the increase. The main preoccupation of the men who now determined the policy of the Stauning Government was to see that in no circumstances should that Government go, for if it did, everything would be at the mercy of the Germans or the Danish Nazis, and chaos would ensue. Better, therefore, to be all compliance and submissiveness to Germany. Thune Jacobsen had only been accepted by the Germans "on trial". Everything would therefore have to be sacrificed for the sole purpose of securing his power, so that there would be no further risks of being confronted with a German demand for the introduction of German police.

But why did the Germans consent to the Danish Government extending its power by the creation of such an overwhelming police force? Would it not have been easier to let the German soldiers and the German police take over control? No. The very thing the Germans wanted was that the Danish Government system should be fortified, so they permitted not only a strong police force, but also special calling-up for the army. They calculated that army and police would unquestionably show loyalty to any Government that happened to be in power, and when the time was ripe, then Stauning's Government—if it seemed expedient—would be replaced by a Nazi Government, supported by the forces of order.

The only factor which the Germans constantly miscalculated is the King. A Government set up against his will and that of the majority of the Parliament will—we have the King's word for this on many occasions—inevitably bring about a constitutional crisis.

DANES FIGHT THE DANISH NAZIS

SURELY IN no other country in Europe has the Nazi way of life found so sluggish a soil to grow in as in Denmark. That is as true to-day as it was at the start of the occupation, a year and a half ago.

There are many reasons for this: a fairly equal distribution of

the good things of life has prevented the class cleavage which is to be found in other countries; a well-developed social legislation has provided, if not lavishly, at least decently, for those whom an unkind fate deprived of employment, health or fitness; the economic crises which afflicted all countries led to poverty, it is true, but never to the desperation of actual hunger; there was neither Jew-baiting nor any sort of imperialism. But most important of all was that the whole of the Nazi conception, with its compulsion and its bestiality, its uniforms and its parades, its leader-idolatry and its spiritual deadness, was alien to the Danish mind. And the average Dane had a nervous suspicion of everything that came out of Germany. *Memories were almost all bitter: the open frontier to the south had constantly been used as an implement for German pressure, although the Danes had shown a cottager's humility at his master's table, when the Allies restored to them part of the land that the Germans had seized after the heroic Danish stand in 1864. There was a proper demarcation of the frontier only at the request of the Danish Government following a plebiscite.*

All the same, there have been quite half a score of purely Nazi parties at work in Denmark at one time or another. Perhaps, too, it may be said that here was precisely the reason for the small progress made by Nazism: there was not really one outstanding personality capable of making it a success.

The first Danish Nazi Party was founded in 1929 by Lembcke, who wanted to import the German party-system in its crude and unadulterated form. This party was later wound up, but among its members was the man who afterwards became leader of the largest of the existing Nazi parties—Frits Clausen. Lembcke's party made itself notorious by forming an S.A. organisation which acted as a terrorist group. One of its adherents, Carlis Hansen—now, by the way, diligently at work in Denmark—attempted as early as 1934 to kidnap a German refugee, Herr Kuhlmann, in Copenhagen, allegedly on the instructions of the German Gestapo. At all events, when Carlis Hansen had himself to flee from Denmark because of this affair, he took refuge in Germany, whence he popped up again after the occupation.

A retired lieutenant of the Danish army, Wilfred Patersen, formed a Danish Socialist Party some time later. This was recruited from the worst elements of the community, and it also carried out many acts of terrorism. In the summer of 1937 the members of this party tried to blow up, in Copenhagen, the villa of the Defence Minister, Hr. Alsing-Andersen; in 1934 they stopped a train on the Copenhagen-Elsinore line in an unsuccessful attempt to kidnap the Finnish Communist Määkinen; in April 1938 one member fired two shots from the gallery of the Lower House, at Steincke, the Minister of Justice.

It would be wearisome to enumerate all the small Nazi parties

an even lower level than Ulfeldt, who was not only a traitor to his country, but a gigantic swindler of corrupt habits. Pastor Sletten, who conducted his own defence, said that his estimate of Clausen's character was shared by the whole Danish nation. The Court thereupon released Pastor Sletten, and allowed him 25 kroner for expenses. He was *not* asked to retract his observations.

Corfitz Ulfeldt's generation raised to his memory a "pillar of shame" bearing the inscription: "To the everlasting shame and ignominy". . . .

In that same little town of Jutland—Randers—where Frits Clausen was branded a traitor in the middle of the German occupation, there was created in 1931 an association which looked as if it would be the stepping-stone to the actual Fascist Party in Denmark. This was the L.S., an abbreviation for *Landbrugernes Sammenslutning* (Peasant Party). The head of this association was—and is—a bankrupt farmer, Knud Bach, who speculated in the misery which the world crisis had brought upon Danish agriculture. Bach has himself openly admitted that he had no belief in the parliamentary principles through which he sought to have his demands carried out, by means of production strikes, a most elaborate farmers' procession to Copenhagen in 1935, the establishment of a farmers' military defence and similar methods. For a time the movement assumed a very threatening character. The Farmers' Rallies, held in the early days, saw a mustering of no fewer than 50,000 farmers in certain years, while two-thirds of Denmark's 1500 co-operative dairy-farms and practically all her slaughter-houses went over to the L.S.

But even before the German occupation, a falling off had set in. The Danes are no lovers of violent methods, and when Knud Bach, on his frequent visits to Germany after the occupation, betrayed the trend of his opinions, the entire L.S. movement quickly crumbled away. Previous to this, it had come out that Knud Bach and his association were to a large extent financed by a group of big proprietors. They called themselves the *Majoratsejernes Forening* (Large Owners' Society), and they practically bought Knud Bach's help in order to overthrow Stauning's Social Democratic-Radical Government. The leading rôle in this society was played by Jørgen Sehested Broholm, a friend of Fascism in all its manifestations.

At the latest elections for the Danish Lower House of Parliament, on 3rd April, 1939, L.S.—which in Parliament is known as the Peasant Party—got 50,000 votes and three seats; Frits Clausen's National-Socialist Workers' Party 31,000 votes and also three seats. The total number of votes recorded was 1,700,000. Thus the two parties represented together barely 5 per cent. of the electors.

How the voting would stand to-day one cannot tell. There should have been an election in the spring of 1941; preparations were in full swing, but at the last moment the Germans put a stop to it.

They were afraid that the elections would show that the Nazis had lost ground.

On the morning of 9th April Frits Clausen's Nazis met in groups up and down the country, and greeted the German troops, for whom they also acted as guides, with flowers and "Heils". Two per cent. of the country's electors had not been enough to confer power upon Clausen, now he was hoping that German bayonets would prove more effective.

Germany's two foremost political representatives—the Minister Renthe-Fink and the Press Attaché Meissner—also began immediately to act on the idea that the Danish off-shoot of the German Nazi system would take over the Government. It would not happen right away, perhaps, but in the course of a few months. Frits Clausen now had the support of Knud Bach also, and of the representatives of the Peasant Party in Parliament.

In spite of the theory of a "Model Protectorate", which laid down that Germany was not to interfere in the internal affairs of the country, Renthe-Fink and Meissner had both hoped that they would be able, during the summer of 1940, to make Frits Clausen head of a Danish Nazi Government. It was not until the end of the year that they realised that they had been playing the wrong cards; and during the December crisis the idea of a Clausen Government was wholly abandoned, as we have already seen. But the summer months which preceded this had been full of incident. Frits Clausen's tactics had obviously been that, by means of demonstrations and disturbances of all kinds, he would so provoke the population that he would be able to say the Government no longer had any control over them; he would thereupon turn to the Germans and beg them to "restore law and order", and himself become Prime Minister.

In the sunny summer days you could see the young Nazis collecting in the towns and villages in the neighbourhood of Copenhagen, and cycling towards the capital in groups of ten to twenty. They did not as yet venture to defy the uniform-ban which had been in force in Denmark for several years; but they all wore the same sort of outfit: white shirts, black shorts, long boots and caps with chin-straps. So the groups assembled in the outer suburbs of Copenhagen, and then from all directions streamed into the centre of the town, singing and causing a good deal of traffic hold-up. Here and there small incidents occurred, but the police always managed to restore order quickly, and the rows of cyclists could continue on their way. The people of Copenhagen knew that the idea was to provoke them—and they refused to be provoked. Frits Clausen sat with his staff in the covered courtyard of the Hotel Hafnia, receiving reports from breathless orderlies who clicked their heels and saluted with up-raised hand.

At the other tables in the restaurant one might sit and watch the doings of this remarkable general staff, and see the disappointment

which mirrored itself on their faces as the real state of affairs gradually revealed itself: there would be no rioting after all! The demonstrations were a fiasco! That little summer scene of the Danish Nazis sitting in council by the open curtain seems, on looking back at it and knowing it came to nothing in those unhappy days, like an idyl, but how easily it might have developed into a tragedy!

A mass meeting in November in the huge Forum hall of Copenhagen, followed by a march to the Raadhusplads, where a wreath was placed on the statue of "the Little Hornblower" in memory of those who fell on 9th April—that was the next big and certainly definite fiasco! All the same, the preparations called for a large expenditure of energy and money—the latter running into a hundred thousand kroner. In all the streets there were life-sized portraits of "Leader Frits Clausen", and the agitators for a Nazi Government were moved to verse! This is what they said:

"Changed be the course of old!
Forward be now our trip!
New is our captain bold;
Dannebrog guards the ship."

The huge hall was packed, and the excitement in the whole town intense. What would happen when the march to the Town Hall started? The papers had appealed to citizens to stay at home, for there was a feeling that the shadow of a Nazi revolution hung over the town that Sunday. Most people had obeyed the papers' suggestions, so the streets were very empty; among the few onlookers, however, young men were distributing pamphlets with authentic photographs of Danish Nazis who had showed German soldiers the way on the 9th April. And now these same Nazis were going to lay wreaths in memory of the Danish soldiers who were killed by Germans that day. What disgusting humbug!

The people of Copenhagen showed an admirable discipline when the procession at last came along with flying swastika banners, insulting inscriptions and uniforms galore. Besides the cars of the Danish police which dashed to and fro along the lines, one saw also private cars belonging to the German army, occupied by officers. They proceeded slowly, almost at a walking pace, along the lines, now and again pointing at the onlookers. If a single one of these ventured to utter a shout, a pair of Germans sprang out at once, grabbed him and took him with them into the car. I was standing on the roof of my own premises, which happened to be on the route of the procession, so I saw several of these episodes. It was tremendously challenging of the Germans, and once it seemed as if *the great* event was to occur: half a score of young men sprang forward angrily, and tried to stop a German car which was carrying away a Dane who had demonstrated. They opened the car doors, wanted to free the imprisoned men and drag the Germans out. But two or three more German cars hastened up, and the youths were overpowered and carried off.

The people of Copenhagen, however, with a prudent patience, let the whole thing pass. Action is out of place when it is one's opponent who wishes to induce it. From the balconies of the Tourist Hotel, just opposite the statue of "the Little Hornblower" and from the German headquarters, Dagmarhus, by the side of it, German officers of high rank belonging to the army of occupation and Nazi officials from Berlin stood and watched how the demonstration went. They noted the by no means imposing posse of Danish Nazis, possibly studied their types as well, and they saw the calm, the almost compassionately smiling scorn with which the Copenhagen citizens watched everything—and they drew their conclusions. That day plans for a Danish Nazi Government were *for the time being* scrapped. . . .

When the wreaths were deposited and the speeches made, the Nazis marched away again. The moment that the last of them were out of sight some bold folk among the spectators sprang forward, seized the wreaths and tossed them up into the air. They fell down again among the onlookers, were plucked by many hands and their leaves scattered to the winds.

The German officers on their balconies turned their backs and feigned indifference.

Weeks before this mass meeting occurred there had been lively political activity among the Nazis. Knud Bach, leader of the L.S., had paid a visit to Berlin, and returned home again with a new labour-programme for the L.S., which he openly proclaimed: Stauning's system must withdraw in favour of a Government "with the ability and the will to transform the community politically, nationally and morally, and to adopt the proper attitude in regard to Germany."

In Parliament Frits Clausen said that it was a lie to assert that it was the Germans who paid for the Danish Nazi propaganda. Then he added in threatening tones: "If the Danes are not able themselves to maintain law and order, they must be reminded *that there are others who are.*" Hr. Valdemar Thomsen, leader of the Peasant Party—the political title for the L.S.—said in the Lower House:

"The Danish Government have not acted consistently with the policy of the new Foreign Minister, Erik Scavenius. For this reason it is necessary for Hr. Stauning to resign. The Germans prefer a Government of loyalists to one of Marxists."

It was also some days before the big November meeting that *Faædrelandet* declared that Stauning and the Parliament must now hand over their powers to the King, who would then get together a Government which "understood the new era". And a time-limit was laid down: it was to be before the 14th November. Otherwise Hr. Stauning would be publicly disgraced.

However, the 14th of November came and went, and the King and the Government made no move. Nor did Frits Clausen. The Germans had called off the action after the failure of their giant meeting.

A pamphlet entitled *The Whole Truth*, written by Preben Wenck and Blankensteiner, dealt with the "unmasking" of Hr. Stauning. Wenck got some months in gaol for it later. During the hearing of his case it came out that he had gone to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs some days before his pamphlet was published, and asked for a post in Yugoslavia. "Then I will, of course, give up my political writing if I get the place," he said. But the Government did not fall for this tempting offer.

During the winter months the Nazi Party lay low— or devoted its energies to stopping the internal dissolution which threatened it. One big group after another withdrew; even those holding the highest posts within the party forsook Frits Clausen. He, however, had to continue to make it appear to Berlin that he remained the undisputed Leader, and that his party was still active. As a Christmas present he sent Himmler a copy of the famous Danish Gold Horn, inscribed: "With the wish that the original German mode of life may again arise on a basis uniting the blood-related Germanic peoples in the common task of furthering the National-Socialist ideology in the New Europe." But Himmler was disconcerted by the qualities of the delegation which had been sent with the horn; into the bargain, none of them spoke a word of German, so the radio transmission which had been arranged for had to be called off.

Another of Frits Clausen's difficulties was to find sufficient men to send to the German "Führer-school". He had promised to send 200, but he had to "trawl" the so-called café-bars in Copenhagen to find young unemployed men who were willing to be recruited for a handful of silver. When they had been a month at this school, they were asked whether they would not join the German army. Only eight wished to do that. The others wanted to go home. Flattery and threats were of no avail. They had had enough of Nazi Germany. So they were sent home, pursued by German contempt!

The Nazis have come to feel the anger and hatred of the Danish people. Their weekly periodical *Nationalsozialisten* would fain make out that they were martyrs.

"For once in a way we shall describe what it costs us to be Nazis [wrote this paper]. We are the object of our countrymen's hatred, anger and contempt. They call us Nazi swine and traitors. Our children are attacked, and nobody will have anything to do with them. The police are always on our tracks, we are driven from our places, boycotted economically, and persecuted by all the authorities. We have disputes with our families, and in many cases we are without acquaintances, friends, wives or children."

As the winter wore on, Frits Clausen managed to heal the breaches in his own ranks. He also procured the wherewithal to continue his struggle for power, and in June 1941 increased activity set in. Nazi

Youth Camps were established in various parts of the country, on the German model, of course, and for the first time Frits Clausen now openly defied the uniform-ban. *Faedrelandet* attacked the Government for not having repealed this ban "because we [Nazis] intend to march about wherever we wish to in our uniforms". Then followed some threatening words about the time which was fast approaching when Danish prisons would be full of those who still ventured to bid defiance to Nazism.

It was not mere idle boasting that the Nazis indulged in when they promised to defy the uniform-ban. In spite of the large police force, no steps were taken when Clausen and his followers appeared in uniform. The Government were lamentably lenient.

The 22nd of June came round at last. With Hitler's march into Russia the Danish people were, it was hoped, to be won for Germany and for the Nazi system. There was the same speculation as in the other Nordic countries—sympathy with the Finns was to be exploited; the swastika campaign against Bolshevism, and help for Finland would provide the Nazis with the supporters whom up till now they had wooed in vain.

Some time before the war with Russia, a Danish branch of the notorious S.S. Nordland corps had been established, but only a handful of men had been brought together. Now, with the Government's approval, recruiting offices were set up all over the country, and the Danish radio agitated for help in the cause.

How different from the state of affairs during the last Finnish war, a year and a half previously! Then no Dane was permitted to enlist for voluntary service in Finland in his own country; he had to sneak over the frontier to Sweden in order to join up. The old Danish ban on entering the war-service of a foreign Power no longer held good now that it was a question of the war-service of Germany.

But, even so, there was no enthusiasm to enlist. Perhaps people were still remembering how, as lately as the 9th May, *Faedrelandet* had written that Germany and Russia had "quietly composed their differences, and that now it was of no importance whether a man were a *Nazi* or a *Communist*". The same paper was now saying that a Nordic regiment would fight Communism, thus securing for Denmark a place of honour in the history of Europe.

The Germans were greatly displeased with the lack of interest. Danes fighting on the German side a year and a quarter after the German occupation of Denmark were too good subject-matter for propaganda to be destroyed by the unpopularity of the Danish Nazis. The Government should take the matter up and provide volunteers.

As has been said in an earlier chapter, the Danish Government had broken off diplomatic relations with Russia the moment the war began. They had therefore no objection to complying with this new demand of the Germans. It was proposed to recruit volunteers for a Free Corps to be named *Dannebrog*; they should wear Danish uniforms and be led by Danish officers. But Berlin did not find this

solution satisfactory, and after one more attempt to find a middle way, the Government had to agree to the German demand that the "Royal Government of Denmark" should permit recruiting among the Danish officers and all Danish men who had done their military service since 1931 for a Free Corps Denmark. This corps should wear German uniform, except that the recruits should have the right to bear the word "Denmark" on their sleeves; it should be trained in Germany and led by German officers. In addition to their military training, the volunteers should receive instruction in the German language and German culture.

Lieutenant-Colonel P. C. Kryssing was appointed chief of the *Frikorps Danmark*. In *Fædrelandet* he explained the motives which inspired him:

"I have joined this Danish corps, because since the 9th April last year it has been a difficult matter to be a Danish soldier. I no longer believe that democracy in Denmark can rouse the people out of that wretchedness which culminated on the fateful 9th of April. But I do believe that Danish soldiers, by standing together and adding their contribution to the struggle against Bolshevism, may reinstate something of Denmark's honour, and only in this way can we make ourselves worthy of freedom."

And the Chief of Staff of the free corps, Captain Thor Jørgensen, said:

"By permitting us to take part in the fight against Bolshevism Germany has given us a chance to restore Denmark's honour, which suffered a severe blow on the 9th of April."

To the credit of the Danes it must be said, however, that not many of them indulged in this confused thinking. Most of those who had organised help for Finland in her last war said straight out that Finland had no need for Danish volunteers, nor had she requested them to enlist. Moreover, the Finnish Minister in Copenhagen rejected the offer made to him by some young Danes who would have been glad to volunteer without German prompting.

In the end about 400 men did enlist in the *Frikorps*--but scarcely any of these were officers. In July they were sent to a training-camp in Germany. They were received with great ceremony in Hamburg, and on the 5th of August those young Danes took the following oath to Hitler:

"In the name of God I do most solemnly swear that I will obey without question the supreme leader of the German military forces, Adolf Hitler, in the fight against Bolshevism, and that, as a brave soldier, I will be prepared at any time, in conformity with this oath, to give my life."

Fædrelandet had, to a surprising extent, exploited the fact that it was the "Royal Danish Government" who had given permission for the establishment of the corps, and in Hamburg Himmler's Chief of Staff expressed his thanks to the Danish King for this. However, the head of the corps, Lieutenant-Colonel Kryssing, never mentioned the King's name in his reply.

One may safely conclude that objections were raised in the highest quarters to this unjustifiable misuse of His Majesty's name.

It is doubtful whether it was ever the opinion that those who enlisted in the *S.S. Norland* and the *Frikorps Danmark* should be sent to the front in Russia at all. Danish correspondents in Berlin emphasised, right from the start of the Russian campaign, that it would be over in the course of two or three months, in the usual German lightning-war tempo. The Danes who enlisted were told that they must undergo training in Germany which would in any case take two or three months. Therefore there could be no chance of their going to fight in Russia. Could the intention have been that they should later be used for the fight against England?

At any rate the Nazis and Germans carefully refrained from mentioning any such purpose. Even admitting that a few hundreds had allowed themselves to be bamboozled by anti-Communist propaganda, if it had been said that they were to be sent against England, not one-tenth of the number would have come forward.

The actual purpose of the *Frikorps* is undoubtedly quite different, and it has been revealed by one of the Nazi agitators—H. Haavard. At a meeting in Jutland the latter asserted that *of course it was not* the Germans' intention to withdraw the German troops from Denmark once the war was over. Not straight away, at all events. They would only be sent home in a correct proportion to the young Danes who could come home to Denmark and be responsible for the "protectorate" after a proper training in Germany. It was calculated that the corps, to be trained in Germany in the military, cultural and Nazi faith, would come home good disciples of Germany, prepared to guarantee the continuation of German influence. It would be a police force of Danes, but trained in Germany.

The part of the country in which Frits Clausen had had most difficulty in imposing his views was his own, South Jutland or Slesvig. It is not sufficient of an explanation to say that the reason for this was that he was known best there. The special circumstances of Slesvig must be taken into account.

Germany has never recognised the frontier fixed in Versailles in 1920 between Denmark and Germany. She preferred to have the frontier as a regular object of blackmail in regard to Denmark, and she did indeed make use of it in this way from time to time.

There were, besides, in Germany two schools of thought on this frontier question: the Foreign Ministry in Berlin, and with it the finance-dictator Dr. Schacht, who at times dominated every one—whose birthplace, too, was the Danish town of Tinglev—held the view that the establishment of the frontier in the north was not really a German concern at all. It was better to leave the matter in suspense as a perpetual means of pressure on the Danish Government. On the other hand, in the north German border-towns, in Flensburg,

a very ancient Danish town, in Slesvig and in Kiel there were representatives of the old Slesvig-Holsteiners whose time-honoured slogan, "*Up Schleswig-Holstein, ewig ungedeelt*" (Slesvig-Holstein shall never be divided), demanded the restoration of the districts given up in 1920.

Sometimes it was the policy of Berlin that held sway; sometimes that of Kiel. Immediately after the occupation all the Germans in North Slesvig had expected that Hitler would proclaim the direct inclusion of the whole of Slesvig. Maps had been seen—sent out on Goering's instructions—whereon the German frontier was drawn north of Esbjerg, Denmark's chief port for England, and north of the Lillebaeltsbro's bridge-head in Jutland. They had been so absolutely sure that the annexation would take place on the 28th June, 1940, that the loyal Germans had made all their preparations—with flags and wreaths an' a' that! However, Hitler made his speech that day with no reference to annexing Slesvig.

Now what was Frits Clausen's attitude to this ticklish frontier question? He invented a phrase, supposed to express his policy, "Swastika does not fight Swastika." But what that meant no one knew. It was alleged that, had he been made Prime Minister, he would have embarked upon negotiations with Germany for a minimum regulation of the frontier. But that was not enough for the German Nazis, and it was sufficiently treacherous to his country, in the opinion of the Danes in Slesvig, to keep them from having anything to do with him. That was why Frits Clausen's stock stood decidedly low in Slesvig.

After the disappointment suffered by the Germans on 28th June, 1940, there was a lull of six months in the frontier discussions. Early in 1941, however, a spokesman for *Volksbund für das Deutschtum im Ausland* (National Union for Germany in Countries Abroad) declared at a meeting in Kiel that there still existed—despite the fact that Germany had taken possession of nearly the whole of Europe—a "bleeding sore". No fewer than 100,000 Germans had still to be "brought home to the Reich", and among them, those who lived on the German Reich's northern frontier.

At the same time the German Nazis in North Slesvig began a comprehensive recruiting campaign. They parted company with the Danish Nazis, explaining that they were *German* Nazis and "the road via Dannebrog is only a roundabout road". Their association, which from 1934 had been called *Schleswigsche Kameradschaft* (S.K.), called upon all young Germans to register for training, and by the close of the summer at least 2000 had joined the corps. They had rifles and hand-grenades, and were trained by S.A. leaders from Germany in the use of them—they learnt the technique of street-fighting too. Their leaders said of them that *they knew what their rights were, and would likewise know how to defend them.*

The words had an ominous ring; when Germans speak about their rights in the middle of a German occupation, it is equivalent to a threat, and when they have behind them, in one part of the country

alone, 2000 armed men, accomplished in street-fighting, one knows that there are stormy times ahead. But the Danish Government did nothing to suppress this mutinous organisation. The police, obedient to higher orders, pretended not to see the wanton infringements of the Danish laws. In vain did the newspapers of Slesvig appeal to the Government to intervene before it was too late. The Government had still not learnt that the Germans can respect severe judgments and—if it is necessary afterwards—strong action. They allowed the S.K. to bluster and demonstrate.

Swedish papers of the highest standard, which, with real understanding and kindness, followed the history of Denmark during the occupation, realised that there were danger-signals in Slesvig. They have presented the facts and happenings of the disputed frontier country in a manner impossible for the Danish papers, and they have testified before the bar of history that there was no persecuted minority in Denmark. On the contrary, nowhere could one find better conditions for a minority than in Denmark—least of all in the north German frontier neighbourhood, where a brave little bit of Denmark was made to feel itself in exile more bitter and more petty than anywhere else in Europe.

CHAPTER NINE

DENMARK UNDER THE NEW ORDER

FOR THE first time Hitler confronted a country which he had taken by force but the Government of which was still in being, and had, into the bargain, openly asserted, in the words of its Foreign Minister, that it "recognised an economic and political new order under German leadership".

Here, then, was an opportunity to show the German system without its iron glove; a dazzling chance for propaganda to other nations of Europe, still to be joined to the great German "living space".

Not only had Denmark—certainly under protest—accepted the occupation as a necessity of war, but, through the declaration of her Foreign Minister, she had proclaimed her willingness to seek and find her place in "a necessary and reciprocal co-operation with Germany", as Renthe-Fink had confirmed.

One might think that a Government could scarcely have been expected to go farther. All the same, we have seen how quickly the promise not to interfere in Denmark's political affairs was broken. We have also seen how, though failing, it is true, to substitute for the parliamentary Government a Nazi Government, it was possible, with good results, to apply the system of "one at a time", when the disappearance of a political opponent was wanted.

Now what about the other promises?

Germany had no desire to create for herself in Denmark Bases for the struggle against England.

That was another of the promises made on the 9th April.

Since the invasion the average number of German occupation troops in Denmark has been about 60,000. It is a fairly exact and constant figure, for it may be checked from the butter supplies which the German troops obtain. From 40,000 to 50,000 of those soldiers are all the time in Jutland, while the Seeland force varies from 10,000 to 15,000. On the island of Funen there are only a few hundreds. The Jutland troops are concentrated round Esbjerg, Aalborg and Frederikshavn. In Esbjerg, the biggest port in West Jutland, the German troops at one time outnumbered the inhabitants of the town—37,000. All the cross-road signs in Frederikshavn are now written in German. The whole of Jutland has, indeed, been transformed into an attack-base against England.

In Jutland aerodromes have shot up, one beside another, like fresh molehills. I saw a large new aerodrome being finished last autumn in Frederikshavn. I was cycling through, and went right up to where a road-post said "No admittance". The farmers of North Jutland have now to drive miles out of their way when going to Frederikshavn. All traffic on the main roads is stopped and diverted to side-roads. Here sham villages and sham churches have been set up, farm-yards on wheels, wireless transmitters hidden in the pine-woods. A large sea-plane base had been made near Thisted, and Danish ships were not permitted to sail in that waterway.

It was like that throughout Jutland.

In the early spring of 1941 a large number of German U-boats of the minimum type were sent from Germany to Frederikshavn by rail, in small sections. In Frederikshavn they were assembled. All this for Denmark's "protection". Minelayers and mine-sweepers by the score filled the ports, and great transport ships left them. When I was in Frederikshavn in September all the undertakers were very busy. Two big German transports had been torpedoed by the English. Two thousand three hundred men lost their lives. The officers were to be buried in coffins in Frederikshavn, the drowned members of the crew were sent by rail to Germany, their uniforms being first removed. I succeeded in procuring pictures of the two large common graves of officers' white coffins; each grave was to hold about 200. The photographs were taken by a man who stooped concealed by a bush. One could count the coffins, one by one. Or the German radio I heard all this denied—it was a great lie, said the speaker, that any ship had been sunk.

Were the Germans thinking of preparing to invade England from Denmark? Many people believed so. In the beginning of April 1941 all Danish vessels, no matter what their size, in all parts of the country were surveyed by the Germans.

On various occasions goods traffic was suspended for two or three days at a time to make way for German troop movements. The

German troops were never allowed to remain long in any one place in Denmark. Perhaps in order not to come into close contact with the population?

During the whole spring and summer of 1941 fortifications costing 60 million kroner were being built at Hirtshals in North Jutland. On the island of Bornholm, too, big fortifications were being put up while the Russian warships cruised in the waterways.

Wherever you go in Jutland you notice military activity. Aerodromes are connected by newly laid cement roads, called after Hitler and Goering. The Danish landscape is altering its character.

Maps have been published in German newspapers showing England's encirclement from the coasts of France to the most northerly point in Norway. Jutland's aerodromes pointed menacingly to England. That is how the Germans have kept their solemn promise not to make Denmark a base for attack on the British Isles.

The Danish army and fleet were to be maintained.

That was the next promise; but in February 1941 the Danish Government was compelled to hand over the eight newest torpedo-boats, actually the only assets of the Danish fleet.

Early in January 1941, while the negotiations about a change of Ministry were going on, Renthe-Fink sent a note to the Danish Government, in which he suggested a temporary loan to Germany of eight torpedo-boats. The Government's answer was a sharp refusal. It would be impossible to consider lending the boats, because that would be in complete conflict with the declarations of 9th April, according to which the Danish fleet was to remain intact and not be used in any of Germany's war-operations against another Power.

The German Minister then announced that he had been completely misunderstood. The boats would not be used for war operations, but exclusively for the training of crews and patrol service in the Baltic. Germany wished to *hire* the boats for this purpose. The Danish Government replied that it could not agree that this altered the position, and again referred to the declaration of the 9th April. There was to be no haggling over the Danish fleet.

They knew very well, however, that the Germans would not let themselves be put off with that. They also quite expected that if the Germans did not get what they wanted by persuasion, they would try force. Germany must be very hard up for warships if she was prepared to make such a violent breach in the original agreement for the sake of only eight torpedo-boats. It was therefore to be anticipated that she would one fine day simply steal the boats.

The Minister of Defence now gave orders for the ships to be dismantled, the guns removed and the torpedo-tubes taken out. In any event, the ships should be made as worthless as possible. Each of them had two guns and four anti-aircraft guns. All the valuable instruments were likewise brought ashore and deposited for safety with Cornelius Knudsen, an optician in Copenhagen.

The German Minister's next move was to apply directly to King Christian, and inform him that if the torpedo-boats were not handed over immediately, the promised deliveries of coal to Denmark would be stopped. Once again the German Minister was told by the King that his claim must be made in writing. And so it was; from Berlin the threat came in black and white; Denmark would get no coal if the boats were not handed over.

Renthe-Fink sent a note to the Danish Government also, stating that he had learned of the dismantling of the torpedo-boats, and took this action as a proof that the Danish Government was prepared to give way and hand over the boats. Then he went on to name the time and place of the anticipated transfer.

So, on Wednesday, the 5th February, German marines were in possession of Danish boats. The Government had drawn up a statement which it proposed to publish in the Press; but the German military authorities intervened: the matter concerned Germany's fighting strength; it must therefore not be mentioned either in the papers or on the radio.

Early in the forenoon of that same day the Royal dockyards of Copenhagen hoisted their flag at half-mast, and all the shipping concerns and bigger commercial houses in the town did the same. The German officer in command in Denmark telephoned to the Royal dockyards requesting them to take down the flag. He was informed, however, that it had been hoisted on the King's orders.

A few minutes before noon the King himself drove to the Royal dockyards, and all officers and men were piped onto the quay for inspection. When they had taken up their positions before the King, an order of the day to the army and the navy, made out in the King's name, was first read aloud. After that the King spoke for about ten minutes, his words revealing how deeply he was moved. We handed our fleet over under compulsion, said the King, but the day would come when Dannebrog would once more float over these ships.

Afterwards the King went down along the lines of men, and shook hands with every single one of the 800. Accounts of this were quickly spread from one to another during the course of the day, and the Danish people felt that never had their King stood so near them as now.

In some mysterious way the whole of Cornelius Knudsen's valuable optical stock was burned a few days afterwards. All the equipment removed from the torpedo-boats was destroyed.

A young naval officer who had commanded one of the boats could not bear the humiliation, and committed suicide. People could understand it, but some of them thought that he might have done the same along with his ship. . . .

Scavenius acted swiftly after he became Foreign Minister. He sent Hr. C. Mohr, director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to Berlin with the declaration he had made on taking office, concerning Denmark's willingness to co-operate with Germany.

The German Foreign Minister asked Hr. Mohr whether the declaration meant that Denmark wanted at present to come into closer relations with Germany. In conformity with his verbal instructions from the Danish Foreign Minister Scavenius, Hr. Mohr replied that such was the case.

As soon as Hr. Mohr came back to Copenhagen, von Ritter, the Ambassador Extraordinary from Berlin, arrived on the scene to initiate negotiations. He stated at once that a currency and customs-union between Germany and Denmark must be one of the aims of the talks. Scavenius raised no objections.

Up till now the Foreign Minister had informed neither the King nor his own colleagues in the Government that he was deep in negotiations which would alter Denmark's position in regard to the Reich. But even if Scavenius already felt himself to be virtual dictator of Denmark's foreign policy, the Government and the Parliament would have to be informed some time or other.

On the 1st of August the so-called "nine-man committee" was summoned to meet at Christianborg. This was a small committee made up of representatives of the larger parties. When they were assembled, the Foreign Minister informed them quite briefly that a delegation would be starting for Germany in the immediate future, in order to open negotiations. He did not say that the negotiations had already been proceeding for some time.

The German ambassador von Ritter also took part in the meeting, and when asked by one of those present how far the negotiations would go, he did not mention the plans for a currency and customs-union, but simply said that there would be some discussions regarding a *Wirtschafts-Gemeinschaft* (Economic Union). The members of the committee who were not familiar with this quite German economic terminology took this word for an ordinary German term in current use for economic negotiations. They had no idea that it was simply a Dano-German *mutual economy* that was being aimed at—with the knowledge and consent of the Danish Foreign Minister.

A few days later a committee composed of four men set off for Berlin. One of their number was Gunnar Larsen, the Minister of Transport, and the right-hand man of the Foreign Minister Scavenius in the Cabinet. With him was the Social-Democratic Director of the National Bank, Hr. Bramsnaes; Hr. Knud Korst and Hr. Knud Sthyr—the last-named another willing factotum of the Foreign Minister's, and a member of the same cement trust as Gunnar Larsen.

But not even this small committee, although two of its members were Hr. Scavenius's most trusted fellow-workers, knew the real hang of the affair until they arrived in Berlin.

The Germans, thinking that Denmark was longing to cast herself into the arms of the *Vaterland*, now repeated the proposal, already accepted by Scavenius, for the establishment of a currency and customs-union between the two countries. Even this delegation was alarmed. Gunnar Larsen declared straight out that the idea of a

currency union could not be accepted. To which the Germans replied that the question was of no particular importance. All they had wanted was a stabilisation of the relation between Mark and Krone, but they would be quite willing to waive this claim until later.

On the other hand, Germany could not see her way to shelving her idea of a customs-union with Denmark. The chief features of her plan were these: Denmark and Greater Germany should form a common customs administration. Denmark should denounce all her trade agreements with foreign countries, and in future conclude only such agreements as had previously been approved by Germany. Doubtful points should be referred to an arbitration committee, consisting of one Danish and two German members, and the committee's findings should be binding. *Germans should have the same rights in Denmark as Danish citizens—and vice versa.*

In various ways the Germans tried to convince the members of the Danish delegation that a customs-union would be to Denmark's advantage; but still the Danes hesitated. At last Gunnar Larsen intimated on behalf of the delegation that a customs-union might be accepted as a basis for negotiations.

Even during the delegation's stay in Berlin one of its members had clear evidence of the criminal folly of the Danish Foreign Minister's action in himself forcing these negotiations on Germany. The Manager of the National Bank had a talk with Dr. Funk, his German colleague, and head of the Reichsbank. Funk knew nothing of the customs-union scheme, and he said quite candidly that it was a bit premature. In Dr. Funk's opinion the existing agreements between Denmark and Germany worked quite satisfactorily, so there was no reason to make any change.

When the delegation came home, the storm broke. The Foreign Minister had previously forbidden the Danish Press to say one word about the negotiations of the delegation. But for the first time Denmark now proved the value of chain letters. Particulars of the plans were sent far and wide over the country. Two men were condemned to thirty days' and twenty days' imprisonment respectively, and an old lady to fourteen days, for having circulated these letters. Details of the negotiations were also made known by means of small type-written slips which closed with a summons to the Danish people to stand together and preserve the country's independence and national honour. These slips were silently pushed into the hands of people on the streets or in the trams. The chain letters had the following rhyme:

Lovely Denmark, with cattle and pigs,
All that you cherish the Germans may guzzle,
Theirs to devour are your fairest corn-rigs,
You, in return for this, must wear a muzzle!

So, in one way or another, the Danish public were quite in the know by the time the delegation came home again. The Foreign

Minister's criminal project against the national and economic unity of Denmark could no longer be concealed. He had *not* acted under compulsion, as was the case when the Government handed over the torpedo-boats: he had of his own free will endeavoured to give Germany considerable advantages.

On the 13th of August the Foreign Minister had to assemble the committee dealing with the Danish trade agreements with countries abroad. In addition to various Ministers, representatives of the different trades were also present on that occasion.

All these representatives, including those of agriculture, which might have secured a temporary advantage of some importance if the proposal had gone through, were sharp in their criticism of the whole project. The Prime Minister Stauning did not take a very decided stand, but all the others, with the exception of Gunnar Larsen, the Minister of Transport, spoke against it. This was especially true of the Minister of Commerce, Christmas Møller, who rejected with indignation any possibility of a currency and customs-union.

A day or two later there was a Cabinet meeting at which both the King and the Crown Prince were present; it strongly denounced the project which "would make an end of Denmark's independence". One by one the Ministers got up and expressed their opinions. It was a crushing condemnation of the Foreign Minister, not merely on account of the proposal itself, but also because of the secretive mode of procedure adopted by him.

The Liberal Ministers—and the King as well—said that the execution of this plan would mean the complete extinction of Denmark's independence. They would therefore leave the Government if the negotiations were resumed. On behalf of the Conservatives, Christmas Møller said that they would deprive the Coalition Government of their support if the plan were not shelved.

As for the Foreign Minister Scavenius and the Minister of Transport Gunnar Larsen, they declared that they would resign if "the Government sabotaged the negotiations".

It ended in a compromise: a new delegation should be sent to Berlin to propose the postponement of the negotiations, and likewise to obtain further details as to the Germans' intentions concerning the customs-union. They duly departed on the 16th of August. The Germans complied with the proposal to postpone negotiations which had been initiated at the express wish of the Danish Foreign Minister. They added the threat, however, that next time there was a meeting round the negotiations table the conditions would not be so favourable.

So, thanks to the King and the majority of the Government, the dangerous project had been nipped in the bud. It was an absolute defeat for the Foreign Minister. The lamentable and inexplicable thing is, however, that he himself wished to remain as Minister—and that he got leave to do so.

In these currency and customs-union negotiations Scavenius had followed his favourite theory of a *policy of outbidding* in regard to the Germans. He had foreseen the claim that would soon be coming from the German side for Danish association with Greater Germany's New Order. He expected a German victory in the war, also that all the nations of Europe would be compelled to come into the Greater German living-space.

As a realist politician, he thought it best for Denmark to come in under the New Order at a moment when such association would still be a voluntary matter. Consequently he had, in these discussions, offered more than, for instance, the New Order's spiritual father, Dr. Funk of the Reichsbank, had dreamt of asking, although, on the other hand, less than he expected would be demanded on the day that a victorious Germany dictated terms to Europe.

There was naturally a political idea in this, but the Danish people did *not* believe in a German victory, and they had not the slightest desire to present Germany with the trump card, so valuable both from the diplomatic and propaganda points of view, of an occupied country which voluntarily surrenders its independence.

But the Foreign Minister had been right when he foresaw that a demand for adherence to the New Order would come soon—and come before the war was over. That same autumn saw its arrival, and it was Dr. Funk who formulated it.

It was in part the immediate plan, to be put into practice while the war was still on, and which aimed at bringing "the occupied and dominated territories of the Continent into the German war economy, to further (or at least not to conflict with) the Reich's political plans, and to prepare the way for the intended permanent organisation of Europe".

Concerning plans for a post-war Europe, Dr. Funk said:

"The peace-time economy must guarantee to the Greater German Reich a maximum of security, and to the German people a maximum of consumption of goods in order to increase their welfare. European economics must be directed towards this end."

Further particulars, as they affected the northern country, came later: Danish agriculture was to step down from its high estate, and henceforth market only cattle and corn; for Danish industry there was no room at all, except for ship-building, which would not be interfered with. So the Danish farmer would be going back to the days of bondage, and industry would exist only in the shape of manual work: there would be a place only for cobblers and menders of clothes. Commerce would pass into the hands of the old German Hanseatic cities. Tens and tens of thousands of Danish farmers and workers would be robbed of their living. They might then make their way to Germany, where, as alien labour battalions, they could be moved around to any specially dirty and ill-paid job.

Dr. Alfred Rosenberg, Germany's "Kultur" leader, already saw all the Scandinavian countries as willing co-operators with Greater Germany—a true scare! In spite of the censor, a Danish writer—

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Peter de Hemmer Gudme—managed, in a pamphlet called *Denmark's Fate in Europe's New Order*, to protest against the new German gospel concerning the future of the small nations.

The author asserts the right of the small nations to continue to exist, and finds no support for the German theory that culture would have flourished just as quickly in those small States if they had been swallowed up by larger ones. Men like Grundtvig and Kierkegaard are unthinkable outside their national *milieu*. Rosenberg, with his desire to preserve the Nordic spirit, ought to know that this spirit has been based on freedom ever since the days of the Vikings. Suppression of freedom in the north would kill the old Nordic spirit and produce a slave people. Gudme contends that economic co-operation cannot occur in the form of a partition into two separate economic units, whereby the one is to play a purely industrial, the other a purely agricultural rôle. For Denmark a return to a purely agricultural economy would mean that a mere fraction of the population would be in a position to earn its bread within the country's borders. If the plan for the customs-union were carried out, Denmark would lose her economic independence, and Germany could then assert that, seeing Denmark could no longer exist economically as a national unit, she no longer had any right to claim a politically independent status. Denmark would be in chains without its having been necessary to undertake a "political occupation" after the military one.

But that was only one small voice among the people, raised against the new German order. The Prime Minister, Hr. Stauning, was prepared to recognise that order. In March 1941 he said:

"There is something new developing in Europe, something new announcing itself in political tasks and problems. In view of the fact that various countries have ceased to exist, and of developments during the war, it now appears that *Germany is taking her place as the central Power which will in future dictate the political and economic development*. What I have just said is naturally based on present circumstances. Changes may, of course, take place in these, but they are not to be counted on at the moment. We would do well to take into account only the actual situation, which shows Germany as the Power which now rules over considerable portions of Europe. We cannot say how far this development will go, but I, personally, have no belief in a backward movement. *Naturally I hope for a restoration of the independent States which at the moment are protectorates. But in this also it is at the moment impossible to speak with any certainty. . . .*"

Here, then, was a Prime Minister who was not disinclined, in advance, to give up hope of Denmark ever again regaining her freedom. What was more: he was willing to adapt himself to such a state of affairs, for he went on:

"It is at least my present impression that Germany has certain plans, aiming not only at a temporary new orientation, but a *permanent European new order. . . . So far as I understand, Germany is con-*

templating a division of labour in Europe, and if such division is appropriate and reasonable we have no cause to raise objections."

Hr. Stauning went on to say that of course changes in the usual situation were to be expected, but it would be best "if we *quietly and willingly co-operate in this adjustment when the time comes, and it will not be so alarming as many people think; it is rather a development which is necessary, and it is foolish to resist things which time and circumstances bring with them*".

So, barely a year after the occupation, the German assault had become "something which time and circumstances bring with them", and we ought "quietly and willingly" to proceed with co-operation.

Truly there were the actions of a Quisling in Denmark, even if no actual Quisling existed.

On the day that Stauning made that speech at the Students' Union in Copenhagen, Dr. Goebbels called together the foreign correspondents in Berlin, and told them about Germany's future aims. German leadership would not be restricted to mere economic co-operation and trade and labour plans, said the German Minister. No. German leadership, in so far as Denmark was concerned—and this was what the correspondent of *Nationaltidende* said of the speech—would also include *control of Denmark's foreign policy, Denmark's military, economic and monetary policy*. As a sop to the Danish journalist, all that Dr. Goebbels could say was that "a new cultural order would doubtless contribute to a better understanding".

Dr. Goebbels must have forgotten the promise of 9th April:

The Danish people's freedom will be fully respected and the country's independence fully guaranteed.

The claim of Dr. Goebbels for control over Denmark's foreign policy was soon transmitted to the Danish Government, and the result was a confusion in Denmark's diplomatic relations with countries which is surely without parallel.

Diplomatic relations with Russia, as already stated, were broken off immediately after the German march into that country. With Germany's chief enemy, England, however, relations were still maintained until December 1941, although, of course, only one-sidedly: the English Minister, Mr. Howard Smith, was turned out of Copenhagen on the 9th April with all his staff, and the German soldiers behaved in an insolent and challenging manner to him. Yet the Danish Minister, Count Reventlow, has remained all the time in London with his whole legation, and he is always recognised by the British Government. Denmark is represented in both Vichy and Paris, but there is no French Minister in Copenhagen.

There was an American legation in Copenhagen until 1942, headed by a legation-secretary, but all American consuls were sent off in July 1941, and Denmark has officially no legation in Washington, as the Minister, Hr. de Kauffmann, was released when America undertook the protection of Greenland. No new Minister arrived, nor would he have been recognised by the American Government, which recognises only Kauffmann.

Occupied countries have no right to exchange consuls; however, Denmark enjoys an exceptional position with regard to Norway, Holland and Paris; they have no such privilege.

Finally it may be added that when Chile seized the Danish ships, the German ambassador was charged with making the protest on Denmark's behalf, although Denmark was represented.

Such are the inconsistency and confusion which have been created in a year and a half in Denmark's international relations under the German "new order"!

But the Danes began to feel that everything was not as it ought to be in the great Reich; trifles pointed to this now and again, but trifles that were symptomatic of the confusion so widespread in the conglomerate State.

There was the question of summer-time, for instance. At the beginning of the war Denmark introduced summer-time—in summer. Germany had it in the winter as well. In the first year of the German occupation, when autumn was giving place to winter and the time approaching when Denmark usually changed back to normal time, the Danish Prime Minister asked the German Minister if we might do as now. Of course, came the reply; Denmark was a free country. On the last afternoon of summer-time, therefore, Stauning said in Parliament that the clocks would be put back again that night at midnight. However, at seven o'clock of that same evening Stauning was at the radio, telling the Danish people that summer-time would continue, after all. The Germans had asked for this, one hour after the meeting of Parliament was over.

Scavenius, the Foreign Minister, could not understand why Denmark's Minister in Berlin, Hr. Zahle, did not follow better all the ups and downs in Germany, so he called him home for a conference in January 1941, and upbraided him bitterly for not being sufficiently in sympathy with the leading circles in Berlin. The old and experienced Minister—he is seventy—replied:

"I have been a Danish official in Berlin under three different forms of government, and I know the people I have to do with. I do not allow myself to be duped by the present régime."

And he continued in words which were the reverse of flattering to the Nazi gang in Berlin, who, for their part, had done everything to please this polished man of the world, doyen of all the foreign legation chiefs; for whom, too, a splendid palace had been built.

Scavenius was furious. It was, he said, the Minister's fault that they had never achieved proper contact with the leading Berlin personalities. The matter ended by Hr. Zahle offering his resignation as from 1st April. Later, on the intervention of King Christian, the Minister promised to remain in office a little longer. He died, however, one month afterwards. Danish delegates, visiting the Reich capital during the occupation of Denmark, told how the Danish Minister used to amuse himself during the official dinners given in

their honour by carrying on animated conversations with his fellow-countrymen on art and literature, the Germans in the meantime devoting all their attention to the dishes piled high with tasty shellfish and juicy roasts. Then, after the meal, when a Dr. Rosenberg or a Dr. Goebbels held forth at length on Nazi questions in the drawing-room, the ageing Minister sat on the sofa under one of the marble pillars with German statuettes which Hitler himself had chosen to embellish the Danish legation—and gently fell asleep. He knew all about it—there was not much they could teach him!

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Danish business men were also quick to realise what the "New Order" meant. Being begged and cajoled to do so, they travelled to the Leipzig Fair, at which it was to be demonstrated that war-time Germany was still working full steam ahead and every wheel turning. In the show-cases they saw the paste-board sham articles, the milk that was solidified instead of being given to babies, the whole of the tragedy of *ersatz* (substitutes), and they refused to buy. However, one optician from Copenhagen decided to order some goods. He did so, and then proceeded to give his name and address. When the salesman heard that his home was in Copenhagen, he said: "I am sorry, *we only sell to foreign countries.*"

Other business men can tell how they have to make use of bribes in order to get their goods. And not only bribes to the German manufacturers selling the goods, but also to the customs officials and the railwaymen, so as to have the goods sent to Denmark. War-time—or the Nazi reign—has produced a decline in the moral tone of the whole German nation, which is quite alarming to those who come across examples of it.

CHAPTER TEN

DENMARK EXPLOITED

BEFORE THE war Denmark supplied the world market with from 50 to 60 per cent. of all its bacon, a third of its butter and 25 per cent. of its eggs. Denmark had more cows and pigs per head of the population than any other nation in the world. The value of Danish goods—mostly agricultural—exported to England every year amounted to 825 million kroner; the value of English goods going to Denmark amounted to 640 million kroner per annum. Of the three most important export articles—bacon, butter and eggs—almost 100 per cent. of the bacon went to England; 76 per cent. of the butter also went to England, and 23 per cent. to Germany; and finally 75 per cent. of the eggs went to England, and 22 per cent. to Germany.

Thus Denmark's economic existence was to a very considerable extent based on her trade with England. Not only was England

Denmark's biggest customer, and the whole Danish production apparatus one-sidedly adjusted in order that this one customer should be supplied, but the highly developed Danish agriculture was also only possible so long as it received its provision of corn and food-stuffs from the west. Danish agriculture was in reality just an industry which handled agricultural products.

With the coming of the Germans all this economic system was overturned. To begin with, the advantages would all be on Germany's side, and the more than ample stocks of food would fall to her share; but once that had happened, the goose that laid the golden eggs would likewise be slain.

It had taken three generations to build up Danish agriculture's production apparatus—six months or a whole year would not be long enough to reorganise it on another basis. When food-stuffs no longer came from the west—for Germany could not supply them—Danish live-stock would have to be slaughtered, and agriculture move back to its old corn-growing stage.

In the meantime, however, there was a year's rich harvest to be gathered in before the catastrophe came. Germany did not begin right away to plunder the Danish food-stocks, although, of course, a number of things had to be rationed in Denmark. In the case of certain goods the rationing was stricter than it is at present in Germany, but on the whole the Danes were permitted to keep far larger supplies than any other occupied country. The Dane had to be well fed while he was still working for Germany; the political aim was, as yet, to conquer the Dane by kindness.

To win over the Danish farmer had been Germany's special hope. England had been driving Denmark on a tight rein both during the war and the time which immediately preceded it. The prices paid for Danish goods were small, some of the goods were produced at a loss; but production was maintained as well as possible so as not to disappoint the English market, and the State exchequer paid the deficit. It was not the sort of business that could go on indefinitely, but Denmark had to bring her sacrifice also. This was a point that the Germans were very fond of stressing after the occupation. They would drily point out that Danish trade with England on the basis of the present prices would bring about Denmark's ruin in a very few years. How different it would be if only Denmark became a member of the Greater Germany! German prices for Danish agricultural goods soared up 10, 20 and even 50 per cent. The Danish farmer seemed to be rolling in money. German needs were endless; their prices fantastic.

But the Danish farmer was not fooled. In the first place, he soon became aware of the fact that the Germans were not paying at all. The hundreds and hundreds of millions of kroner quoted by the German purchaser never reached Denmark. The Danish National Bank had to finance the purchases, and the amounts were entered on the German Clearing Account. Had Denmark been able to procure goods to a corresponding amount from Germany, the system

might have been sound enough; but the Germans could, of course, deliver neither coal nor iron nor any other raw material to Danish industry, and the result was that Germany's indebtedness to Denmark grew tremendously from month to month. By the time the occupation had lasted for a year this debt amounted to some 630 million kroner for agricultural goods delivered—that is to say, more than the Danish State's total expenditure for the corresponding period.

The Foreign Minister tried to allay the anxiety of the Danish people concerning the steadily rising debt item. He said in the Lower House:

"I believe that not all had made it clear to themselves *how lucky it was for Denmark* that our great customer to the south was in possession of an organisation which permitted him to take over without delay the great quantities of perishable goods which were formerly shipped westwards. It was, however, evident from the beginning that Germany was unable to pay for the increase in our exports with goods which Denmark needed most."

Speaking of the German debt on the Clearing Account, Scavenius said:

"The value of this asset would, of course, increase considerably if we could make use of it for purchases in other countries, but the possibilities had been rather limited. So far Germany had made only 25 million kroner available for purchases outside Germany. After the war Denmark could make good use of her assets in Germany."

The Clearing Account did not represent even half of the German debt to Denmark; for the German army of occupation had to be paid for likewise, not to mention the numerous defence works which were undertaken. These expenses amounted to a total of 8,40 million kroner in the same period, so that Germany's whole debt stood at 1470 million kroner for the first year of her occupation of Denmark. In relation to Denmark's circumstances this was prodigious. On 1st January, 1942, the debt was 2000 million kroner.

Apart from the fact that Germany was unable—even had she been willing—to do anything which would reduce this debt, it was a link in the chain of Germany's policy towards Denmark: Germany being so deeply in her debt ought to make Denmark interested in seeing that Germany won the war; for only a victorious Germany could ever pay such a debt, a conquered Germany could never do so.

But the reasoning of the Danish farmer went a stage farther. He could quite understand a conquered Germany *being unable* to pay her debts; but he was equally certain that a victorious Germany would *refuse* to pay them. The debts would be written off with a reference to the fact that Denmark had been spared the burdens of war, and had to pay for that!

Another thing that the Danish farmer knew was that, if he allowed himself to be cajoled by high prices into emptying his stalls and pigsties, he would never get them full again. The Government might order the slaughter, and sale to Germany, of a large per-

centage of the Danish live-stock, because food-stuffs no longer came into the country; but it was impossible to carry out these reductions. The farmer went on trying to make do with green fodder and hay as long as he could, and it was only when the beasts began to die of hunger in their stalls that he was compelled to slaughter.

Then it became clear what the German occupation had cost Danish agriculture:

Danish Stocks of Domestic Animals.

	<i>June 1940.</i>	<i>July 1941.</i>
Hogs	3.2 million	1.7 million
Horned cattle	3.3 million	2.6 million
Poultry	32.0 million	11.9 million

Those were big reductions, but bigger were to follow in the autumn. In the first five months of 1941 there had been a catastrophic fall in exports. Compared with the corresponding months of the previous year they had dropped: by 60 per cent. in the case of butter, 32 per cent. in the case of bacon and 58 per cent. in the case of eggs.

In spite of the fabulous German prices, which, moreover, the National Bank had to pay, the export revenue had dropped by 22 per cent.

Simultaneously the expenses of Danish farming increased at a tremendous rate. It had been possible to obtain from Rumania a very small consignment of oil-cake for the starving animals. This went through the German clearing, and cost 740 kroner per ton. Sweden was able to buy the same sort of fodder from the Argentine at 250 kroner per ton, delivered in a Swedish port.

In the same way as the Danish farmer had to adjust himself so as to provide Germany with his goods, the Danish worker had to place his energies at the disposal of the German war-machine. It was not merely that Danish industry must now accept big orders from the German army and from Germany, but 35,000 workers were compelled to take work in Germany, and 5000 to take work for the German army in Norway.

Morally, of course, Germany was bound to give Denmark all the raw materials she could, in order to keep the life of the community going; but she preferred to make of Danish industry a crippled thing, living on the mercy of its conquerors. One may say that industry is 100 per cent. dependent on foreign raw materials, principally coal, iron, timber, etc., and all these would now come from Germany. The raw materials which Denmark had formerly been in the habit of importing from countries with which she could still have commercial relations—Norway, Sweden and Finland—would now be obtained, not directly from the countries in question,

but via the German clearing. Germany erected a system of European trade agreements, and the various countries which were compelled to adhere to this system could obtain, not the raw materials they needed, but those which were still left over after Germany had practised all her balancing arts. Nor could the raw materials be sold directly by the one country to the other: they had to go through the Greater German Clearing Account, and would reach the consumer only after a hefty commission had been charged on them for account of Berlin.

Germany now held Danish industry on the hunger-line. The deliveries of coal and iron were, on the one hand, a splendid means of extortion—as has been seen in the affair of the torpedo-boats—on the other, the withholding of such deliveries created an artificial unemployment which could likewise be exploited. It was natural enough that Germany should wish to keep her own industries going in preference to the Danish; but there was a need for German workers at the front; consequently Danish workers had to take the places of the soldiers.

Shortly after the invasion a German labour exchange was set up in Denmark. It was simply a German demand that Denmark should place her workers at Germany's disposal. By the Germans it was made to appear that, by placing workers at the disposal of the Reich, Denmark was contributing her share in securing a sufficiency of labour for the German coal-mines. In the meantime Denmark's supplies of coal were negligible: barely enough for her industries, which it was to Germany's interest to keep going. And Germany got Danish workers in tens of thousands.

This recruiting of Danish workers was not, however, carried out without serious difficulties. To what extent threats not to pay unemployment relief to those who refused to take the work were brought into play is not precisely known. In some instances, however, relief was not paid to those who refused the work offered, and it is a fact that Denmark's Statistical Department no longer counted among the unemployed those who had "refused to accept suitable offers of work". Probably this just meant that nothing at all was paid in the way of unemployment relief. What frightful pressure to bring to bear on a man with wife and children!

The attitude of the Danish trade unions has been blameless in this. The Danish Smiths' and Engineering Union—one of the largest—sent a circular to its members, plainly dissuading them from seeking work in Germany. Other unions put obstacles in the way of their members travelling southwards. These latter included general workers, metal-grinders, specialised workers, waiters, marine stokers, sailors and lithographic unions.

The Nazi weekly paper *Nationalsozialisten* complains of "examples of sabotage of work for Germany by the intimidation of workers. A firm of contractors in Aarhus has thus received threatening letters branding responsible persons as traitors. Danes working in Germany are treated as second-class citizens. Their families in Denmark are

liable to be hounded and abused. They must leave apartments if money does not arrive in time, and public offices dismiss them insultingly and cruelly."

And the *Fædrelandet*, the chief organ of the Nazis, wrote :

"Many Danish workers will not accept work in Germany, as they do not wish to help Germany, and desire an English victory at all costs."

It did not make a very good impression on those seeking work in Germany to read from time to time the lists of Danish persons killed in English air-raids over Hamburg and Bremen.

It was especially the shipyards and the Danish cement industry—represented in the Government by its head, Gunnar Larsen—which reaped the benefit of the German orders. Ships for the German account are now being built in all the Danish shipyards, and the slips are fully occupied by German ships in need of repairs. However, it was not long before the shipyards became aware that it was no easy matter to work for their new rulers. Here, as in so many other directions, it became evident that the highly extolled German precision and effectiveness had disappeared under the Nazi domination. Internal jealousies, disorder and corruption reduce deliveries of raw materials, create confusion in arrangements and conflicting instructions. A ship can lie for months on the slips, only half-finished, because the various German departments are quarrelling among themselves.

There were busy days for the cement industry when new aerodromes had to be built, fortifications laid out and roads made for the German army. To begin with, the Danish engineering firms refused to accept any German orders at all. They were then informed by the Government that if they did not undertake this work of their own free will, they would be compelled to do so.

German army orders to Danish concerns amount on an average to 30 million kroner monthly, paid by the Danish National Bank. The payments are made without a vestige of control. A Jutland manufacturer who had made a delivery of goods to the Germans, asked for payment in respect of these in the sum of 50,000 kroner, and received twice that amount. The manufacturer had fixed his price in kroner, the German army reckoned in marks, the value of which is double that of kroner. Seeing that the German army can draw on the National Bank whatever it likes and never think of repaying the money, no inquiries are ever made as to whether the price of an article stands in anything like a reasonable proportion to its worth.

The extraordinary calls on the National Bank, Denmark's Bank of Issue, have brought about a huge rise in the number of notes in

circulation. In the course of two years the note issue has increased by 60 per cent., while at the same time the gold balance has dropped by several millions. (Luckily the National Bank managed to place the major part of its gold safely out of the Germans' reach before the invasion.) Thanks to the financing methods of German purchases in Denmark now in force, the National Bank has placed in circulation in the last year and a half an extra 1400 million kroner. Only the total absence of goods has caused the immediate return of the money to the Bank; inflation would otherwise have been inevitable.

The National Bank itself watched this situation with the gravest anxiety. In its report covering the first year of the occupation we read that borrowings dropped from 567 million to 7 million kroner, while loans at call rose from 114 to 315 million kroner. The ample supply of money is in the main due to the fact that the amounts realised by the rise in exports could not be employed in a corresponding rise in imports. Price increases, the bank report continues, are to be regarded as harmful to Danish commercial life, seeing that Denmark loses her competitive power on the international market, and it is necessary that the Danish krone, at present undervalued, should be brought into a more natural ratio to the other currencies.

However, Germany would never permit an appreciation in the krone's value. A German mark to-day costs 200 ore, whereas the normal rate was 89 ore. The economic fleeing of Denmark is more easily accomplished with a high mark rate.

Although, as we have already seen, there was a ban on comments on Denmark's economic situation and the gradual sliding into inflation, the Liberal member of Parliament Dr. Christiani published a sharp warning in the daily Press last July. Dr. Christiani is head of the international firm of Christiani & Nielsen, which executes contracts for cement work all over the world. He was one of the Danes who, prior to the German occupation, were not blind to certain of the results which the totalitarian States had brought about. His condemnation was therefore all the more worthy of attention now.

"One of the most important causes of price-increase [he wrote] is the extraordinary abundance of money, following upon the financing of export-surplus by overdrafts on the National Bank. Similarly we have advanced the amounts entered under the account 'Sundry Debtors'. Thus about 1300 or 1400 million kroner have gone into circulation, for which corresponding commodities are unavailable. This leads to an artificially swollen price-level which gives a fictitious appearance of wealth. Another cause of high prices is our currency policy, which, in my opinion, has damaged the entire economic life of Denmark. The krone-mark exchange valid on 9th April, 1940, has been maintained since, although this must cause disparity between German and Danish price-levels, as the exchange basis was fixed with exclusive re-

ference to Sterling. As the Danish commodity prices, calculated at this exchange, were much lower than the German, enormous upward pressure is naturally exerted on the Danish import and export commodities. The prices of Danish agricultural products were negotiated by various committees which secured very large price increases, with the sole result that we were also obliged to pay much more for our imports. Most unfortunately for us, prices of import commodities have increased relatively more than prices of export commodities."

People are investing their superfluous cash chiefly in real property and goods. There is a general impression that, no matter when the war ends, Denmark will be bankrupt or snowed ^{under} with inflation notes; consequently there is no great inducement ^{to} save a thing of the kind; it is easy to foresee that agriculture's golden days are a thing of the past; but none the less there has been a decided demand for farm property. Even if you must reckon on writing off a considerable part of the money invested in property of this kind, prices being as they are, the land itself will always be ^{of} a foundation on which a new Denmark can rebuild its future, in buying up goods.

Many people have invested superfluous money in buying up goods. Before the invasion it was considered almost dishonourable to do this; hoarding was absolutely forbidden, nobody hoarded. But after the German occupation it seemed almost a pass-word went from mouth to mouth all over the country: "Buy up as much as you can before the Germans get it!"

The history of Danish small coins under the German occupation is a special tragedy in itself. There are no silver coins, but the small ore denominations were made of precious metal—copper. The Germans had not been many weeks in the country before the copper coins disappeared without leaving a trace behind them. It was not the Germans who had taken them—they had not the time to; for suddenly the rumour went round that the Germans had demanded the Danish copper coins. They should not get them: if every man took care to hide away his coins, there would not be many of them left! In a week all the copper coins had really gone; people had to use postage stamps as a substitute for all change. Then the Finance Minister arranged for the production of aluminium coins; but the first coins made their appearance scarcely had the first of these fluttered away. This time it was on the market than they were asking for Danish aluminium quite true that the Germans were asking for Danish aluminium for their aeroplane manufacture. So in the end Denmark was given her present standard of exchange—zinc coins; the people call them "wash-tub pennies".

Until the summer of 1941 Denmark used to be thought the country that lived best in Europe, but the winter of 1941-42 has been a hard one.

Even in the good times it is questionable whether the standard of living in England was not just as high--and in any case more varied.

The following goods were rationed in Denmark, January 1942:

Breakfast oats	. 1000 gr. per month	Coffee	. . none
Sugar	. 2000 " "	Tea	. . none
White bread	. 2100 " "	Soap	. . 1 piece per month
Rye bread	. 8000 " "	Butter	. . 315 gr. per week

Meat, on the other hand, was not rationed, and if you had money to spend on it, you might have as much as you liked. Prices, however, had risen enormously, and in the autumn supplies for the winter might drop to 50 per cent. of the normal in one week.

There were a number of articles which an English housewife could ill do without, but which were not to be had at all in Denmark. These included sago, olive-oil, sardines, macaroni, jam, etc.

Bread, which is a very important part in the Danish household, is rationed much more strictly than it was during the last war, and the Danish bread loaves are smaller than the German.

For most people the worst problem is fuel. All sorts of fuel are rationed--coal, and firewood and peat. Germany was quite unable to keep her promises to deliver coals. In 1941 she had undertaken to deliver to European countries 60 million tons more than she could produce, and, naturally enough, the occupied countries were the first to go short. Even before the invasion it was forbidden to have hot water for occupation not more than one fire was allowed in a house or a flat, no matter how many resided there. Fuel for even one fire--or money to buy it--was obtained by only very few people. In the severe winter many families were obliged to huddle together and share the warmth.

When it became obvious that Germany could not deliver--even approximately--the quantity of fuel she had promised, a campaign for peat production on a large scale was opened in Denmark in the summer of 1941. About 80,000 men were busy cutting peat during the summer months, and transporting it to the towns.

Petrol may only be used by taxicab drivers, drivers of certain official conveyances and taxis--and the Germans and the Danish Nazis. All other cars were put out of commission. In the beginning it had been relatively easy for taxi-drivers to obtain an extra petrol ration from the German military chauffeurs, who were quite pleased to let the Danes have some of the German army's petrol at a 100 per cent. over-charge; but later the shortage of petrol was felt even in the army. Officers' rations were cut down to one-tenth, and German civilians preferred on the whole not to drive in their cars: they said that they could not bear the scornful glances and hostile shouts of the Danes--they would rather walk.

The Danish street scene was thus entirely changed. You might see an occasional gas-driven motor, and presently it was no uncommon thing to see motors with horses harnessed in front. This fashion was set by the Director of the Carlsberg Brewery, who came driving through the town one day with a couple of high-spirited dray-horses in front of his Rolls-Royce. Bicycles, too—always popular in Denmark—came into their own again. In the early morning, summer and winter alike, the serried ranks of the army of workers and clerks from the suburbs came streaking into the centre of Copenhagen on their bicycles. The Crown Prince and the Crown Princess also rode their bicycles to ceremonial openings of exhibitions and official gatherings.

Needless to say, with certain goods becoming scarcer and the ever-present fear that still more of them would be rationed, a Black Market for articles of consumption did a flourishing and widespread trade. Those who had the wherewithal might obtain what was to be had, and neither buyer nor seller was troubled with scruples. It is not that the Danish people are growing corrupt, but simply that there was a certain element of sport in ensuring that all available goods should go to the Danish consumers, merely in order that the Germans should not get them. We were constantly having to look at German soldiers and officers strutting about from one shop to another, with big parcels under their arms, and buying up every single thing they could find. If an officer managed to get hold of an English article of clothing, he rejoiced greatly: he had never seen the equal of that in his homeland!

The Government attempted to put an end to this Black Market, this back-door trafficking; but the people thought that in this case they were morally justified in defying laws and commandments, and there was no informing; they could trust each other.

Then suddenly stories began to go the rounds: you could never be sure, for instance, that the poultry bought at the door was not infected by the tuberculosis germ; there had not been any inspection. However, no one was scared by a venom which so obviously bore the stamp of "made in Germany", and the buying and selling went on.

One of the articles of which the Germans apparently stood in greatest need was rubber. Hardly had the occupation been completed than all the rubber stocks in the country were enumerated. There were no great quantities of rubber in Denmark, but some tons were found in the possession of two big importers—only about a half per cent. of Germany's annual consumption, all told. However, it was obviously a matter of life and death to have this rubber dispatched to Germany at once. The two importers refused to sell, declaring that they had been obliged to take an oath before the English Minister that the rubber should never fall into the hands of the Germans. The Government had therefore to confiscate these few tons of rubber and hand them over to the Germans.

Later a nation-wide campaign was started to induce people to

hand over anything they possessed in the way of old rubber: car tyres, cycle tyres, etc. The reason alleged for this collection was that the Danish rubber industry should be guaranteed employment during the war. It was a terrible fiasco, for all that. Naturally the people did not believe that it was the Danish industry which would profit by the rubber, and their doubts were further strengthened when it became known that a Government order for a quarter of a million cycle tyres did not come at the promised time.

The Black Market was only for those who had money, and the old Danish proverb that "when the farmer has money, everybody has money", was not correct in this instance. The money did not come into circulation, but lay dead in the banks. On the streets there was the sad sight of hundreds and hundreds of pale-faced, cowed-looking young men aimlessly strolling up and down and back and forth—just to kill time; and to the illegal back-door trade was added the incomparably more sinister Black Market of the streets—the traffic in ration-cards. People, not even able to buy the scanty rations allowed, tried to make a few extra kroner by selling their own bread, butter and sugar stamps.

As time went on there were many who could not afford to use their rations, and they were not only the unemployed, but also retailers who no longer obtained goods to sell, and, of course, the whole great army of the lowest-paid official and business men, who almost always come off worst in a crisis.

Danish official calculations of a normal family budget which, before the war, amounted to 3.420 kroner, had risen two months after the occupation to 4.603 kroner, and by January 1941 to 5.185 kroner.

There was a price increase which the whole of the great middle-class and working-class community could not cope with.

Taking prices in 1935 at 100, the following rises in price have occurred in the most important items of expenditure in a family budget:

	1935.	April 1939.	July 1940.	Jan. 1941.
Victuals	100	108	129	157
Clothes, shoes, washing	100	109	159	180
House rent	100	109	111	113
Light and heat	100	103	200	209
Taxes, Trade-union subs.	100	109	147	155
Sundries	100	102	127	133
	<u>100</u>	<u>107</u>	<u>136</u>	<u>151</u>

People conversant with finance questions regard these figures as too low, and estimate the rise in the cost of living at 50 per cent. or even 75 per cent. since the invasion in April 1940, and there is

a prospect of much bigger rises, as may be seen from the price increases in raw materials and wholesale figures:

	1935.	April 1940.	Jan. 1941.
Raw materials and semi-manufactured goods	100	110	231
of which: victuals	100	108	206
" : other goods	100	112	253
Finished products	100	109	175
of which: victuals	100	110	169
" : other goods	100	108	180
Imported goods	100	110	221
Exported goods	100	106	193
Home products	100	109	176

To end up with, the following are the price increases in some of the most important commodities: potatoes have risen to three times what they were; meat to twice, lard to twice; butter has risen by 50 per cent. and bread also by 50 per cent. Automobile tyres are sold for £90 each!

We have seen how Danish agriculture and Danish industry were pressed into the service of the Germans. What about Danish ships? Fortunately a very large part of the mercantile fleet—and far and away the most valuable part—was out of the Germans' reach on 9th April; we shall later look into the work of these ships and their contribution to an Allied victory.

Immediately after the occupation of Denmark the German authorities asked that that part of the fleet then lying in Danish waters should be transferred to them on time-charter. They would pay extremely good freight rates, but of course through the Clearing Account. However, the Danish ship-owners turned down the German claim, explaining that under the terms of the time-charter they would lose the right to dispose of their own ships. There might thus be a risk that the Germans would use the Danish ships to transport troops to Norway, to which the Danish ship-owners would never agree. The Germans then dropped the matter, and freights are now concluded in the open market, so that each shipper may accept or refuse the freights offered him.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

WORKMAN AND FARMER

IN THE summer of 1941 Thomas Døssing, Director of the Danish Public Libraries, published a pamphlet on Denmark's position during the German occupation. It was called *Stones for Bread*, and dealt, among other things, with the dangers which threatened the position of the Danish worker.

"Far too many people [he wrote] are going about saying that the times before the 9th of April will never come back. Apart from

anything else, it is a somewhat dubious occupation for a normal Danish citizen to be in such a hurry to assert—as many of them do, either gladly or with a touch of malice—that the old days are all over and done with. One is almost made to feel that the 9th of April was a happy day which put a full-stop to a dark epoch in the history of our land. . . . A year ago the warring parties in our country laid down their arms. In other words, the majority gave up the fight out of regard for what has been called the National Assembly. The motto no longer is 'Denmark for the nation', but another time-honoured watchword: 'Dress ranks! Eyes right!' . . . Now one can imagine three things being introduced, which will mean a national misfortune on an incalculable scale:

*A working-day of 10 hours ;
A more marked cleavage between classes or positions ; and
A permanently low working-wage."*

The "national misfortune on an incalculable scale", reduction of workers' wages, was already going on when Hr. Dossing wrote his pamphlet.

Germany's growing inability to provide Denmark with raw materials spelled catastrophe for the working class. Danish trade unions have a total membership of 520,000 workers, skilled and unskilled. Except for the few summer months, 200,000 of these have been unemployed. Another 100,000 are working on reduced time, and receive in consequence—and naturally smaller wages. As previously stated, 40,000 men have had to take work in Germany or Norway. *Danish industry therefore employs at the moment no more than half the normal number of workers.*

Even the workers whose time is fully occupied feel their standard of living threatened. Already they can reckon on a reduction in the standard of 20-40 per cent. Immediately after the occupation the workers lost their old right to strike over a wage dispute; an arbitration board was now set up, with representatives from either side—employers and employed—to settle wage questions, when the subordinate courts had been unable to arrive at an agreement.

The workers were warned by their own leaders not to expect full compensation for rises in the cost of living. The Manager of the National Bank, Hr. C. V. Bramsnaes, an orthodox Marxist who had formerly been Finance Minister in Stauning's Cabinet, said, shortly after the occupation, that "the Archimedes' screw with rising prices as a consequence of rising wages and vice versa must be avoided". He also proposed a reduction in unemployment relief. The workers were naturally ready to make sacrifices with the rest, but when the Arbitration Board in the late summer of 1941 rejected a proposal for a modest rise in wages after a year and a half of occupation-inflation, and postponed any further negotiations for another nine months, a deputation of workers went in protest to their own Prime Minister. Over half a million workers—of whom certainly almost 50 per cent. had previously been deprived of the barest necessities—

now besought the man who had risen from their midst to defend them against the German policy of wage restriction.

For of course it was the German labour policy that had been transferred to Danish soil: workers' wages must not be increased. But the necessary pre-condition—that the cost of living must not be increased either—was not observed: the Germans' own higher prices for Danish agricultural goods and their impudent clearing charges on all imported goods had upset every budget.

What was the Germans' motive in rousing the Danish working-class against their own leaders? Did they hope thereby to create that internal unrest which might lead to the overthrow of the Danish Government and their own accession to power?

No: their aims did not go as far as that. That kind of pretext—if indeed a pretext were necessary at all—could be found in other directions. But by sowing disunion among the workers, they might perhaps drive them to desperate measures, to going on strike, etc., and therein provide an excuse for the abolition of the hated trade unions and the destruction of the whole powerful Marxist system.

In Denmark the Germans had *not*, as in other occupied countries, abolished the trade unions as soon as they came in. On this point also they wanted to win over the Danes by kindness, and the usual German system in such circumstances was here employed as well: lavish invitations were extended to Danish trade-union leaders to come to Germany, where they were driven round to all the industrial centres and made the acquaintance of the leading men in Germany's labour front.

The Germans really succeeded, too, in winning over some of the weaker spirits, and these on their return, and while still under the impression of what they had seen—possibly also on the persuasion of the Prime Minister Stauning—both wrote and spoke in praise of the German system. 'The Danish Labour movement had much to learn from Germany, they said. But such voices were soon silenced; the average member of the trade unions was of more solid stuff, and had no use for that sort of excursion to dictatorship systems.

Even a man like Laurits Hansen, the chairman of the powerful co-operative trades union, was for a brief spell not disinclined to take lessons from the south. He was, however, soon brought into line again by his members, and since that time his attitude has given nothing to complain of. During the wages negotiations he used many a hard word against his own Government and against the Germans. In July 1941 he asserted that he and other trade-union leaders were now often compelled to say yes where formerly they would have said no. Often decisions were arrived at in an hour concerning questions which before would have required the most careful consideration; but, he continued, *what was at stake now was no longer a few ore more or less per hour on a worker's wages, but the very existence of the trade unions themselves as an organisation.*

Two months later, as official spokesman for 520,000 Danish workers, representing 45 per cent. of the population, he said:

"I say this in absolute seriousness—it must not be taken as a threat—the immediate future will be for Denmark the most serious time she has ever experienced; for one cannot control prices on one article or commodity (work, for instance) and allow them to soar in the case of other commodities."

Then he went on to point to the increase in the prices of agricultural goods by 76 per cent., whereas wages had increased by only 19 per cent. Even a paper like the *Bertingske Tidende*, which often represents the most extreme section of the employers, was obliged to admit that many wage-earners were in such a position that any further reduction in real wages would threaten the well-being of the family.

Concerning the award which postponed a rise in wages until May 1942, Laurits Hansen said:

"The award is not and cannot be just. We cannot make half a million members believe that it is just, any more than we believe it ourselves. *It is a parody of justice.* . . . Actually prices have risen so much that plain working-class families are scarcely able to purchase the most necessary things."

Stauning's position in this wages question is extremely difficult. If he refuses to associate himself in a partial regulation of wages, it may mean the break-up of his own party; if he gives way, it is another step towards the inflation which every one fears. The only expedient—an appreciation in the value of the krone in relation to the mark, as the National Bank, all the working-classes and all prominent national economists have demanded—cannot be carried out because of the opposition of the Germans.

So the problem seems insoluble—and that also was Berlin's intention.

Already, therefore, one of the "national misfortunes on an incalculable scale"—permanently low workers' wages—has hit the labouring classes. The second misfortune—a ten-hours working-day—does not as yet seem a threat. Far from it! The Danish worker is rather on the look-out for more work, for a full day's work once more. In order in some measure to cope with unemployment the Government has had to embark upon a campaign of public works which are on a scale far exceeding the economic resources of the country. The value of works already started, together with concessions for the coming year, amounts to 600 million kroner—as much as the total State expenditure in a whole year!

In order to procure money for the big public works, an internal State loan was issued in the autumn of 1941. It was for 250 million kroner, and was the largest State loan ever subscribed in Denmark. Subscriptions came in very slowly—so much so, indeed, that the Government had actually to exert pressure on banks and institutions: among others, on the trade unions. But the latter proved more than usually refractory, even although the proceeds of this

loan were to be used to start the public works, and would thus ease the burdens of the unions in the form of unemployment relief expenditure.

Presumably it was feared that the loan might be a short cut to the confiscation of the trade-unions' property—always a menace where Nazism shows its face. It is rather noteworthy that the one and only trade union run on communistic lines in Denmark—the Stokers' Union—hastened to wind up its affairs after the German march into Russia, and to divide its funds among the members, for fear that the communistic management might be urged as a pretext for confiscating the money.

Part of the big public works will naturally be quite useful, but far too many of the projects will never come up to expectations, because they have been worked out in conformity with German directions as a link in the chain of plans for a German-dominated Europe. There are harbour extensions which could prove of importance only if Germany continued to dominate both Denmark and Norway, and there are road-making schemes—for example, a "Crow's-flight-line" from Copenhagen to Hamburg via Rødby-Fehmern—which are so extremely "outsized" that Denmark would never have gone in for them except for the German request.

Even in a Press so muzzled as that of Denmark now is, certain of the projects worked out by the Government came in for sharp criticism. This applies especially to a scheme proposed by the German-inspired Minister of Transport, Gunnar Larsen. This was a scheme for the enlarging of a Copenhagen sulphuric acid factory, at a cost of 70 million kroner. The factory would utilise the patents of the I.G. Farbenindustrie; but would be unable to employ more than 400 hands in all. This meant that each worker would cost the public exchequer 175,000 kroner!

Schemes of this sort appeared to be promoted more for the purpose of furthering the interests of Big Business than to provide work for the unemployed, and the Press rightly criticised the Government for doing nothing to check high prices in the cement industry, of which Gunnar Larsen was Director. In addition to the other misfortunes of the country, may be reckoned the fact that certain of the industrial magnates exploit the situation for their own ends.

Even when these great public works have been started it will be impossible to bring unemployment figures much lower than 200,000 men during the winter months, and it therefore caused a big sensation when, in his first public interview after the occupation, the Prime Minister took advantage of a temporary drop in unemployment in the summer to state in an interview with the Swedish paper *Aftonbladet*, that the number of workless had not been so low for the last twenty years as it then was. Foreign countries were to be given the impression that every wheel was busily humming round in German-occupied Denmark.

The third national misfortune—greater cleavage between the classes—has already been fairly launched. The German price policy in regard to agriculture, coupled with the wage reductions to the working-class, have aimed precisely at setting town against country, worker against farmer.

But the game was too transparent. It was an attempt to create class hatred between an oppressed working-class and a prosperous farming community; to incite to mutiny in order to have the chance to split and destroy the trade unions. But the workers preserved their tranquillity; they did not allow themselves to be provoked. They knew that the existence of their free organisations was at stake.

The farmers, on their side, did not allow themselves to be led astray by the fancy prices of the moment. They realised that it was a political bonus they were receiving; and they knew also that the peril which threatened the workers' trade organisations would in the next move threaten their own. One of the main causes of agriculture's high position is, as is well known, the well-developed co-operative movement. The farmers' unions are co-operative dairies and co-operative slaughter-houses.

These co-operative enterprises are at the same time production agencies, trading companies and regulators of sales. But they may be something else as well: they may be used as a political weapon. The Nazi Peasant Party (L.S.) had done a bit of speculating along this line and had shown that the co-operative movement may be exploited politically. The Peasant Party failed because it wanted to use methods which were un-Danish. All the same, they had shown the way.

In the first round it had also been the Germans' intention to quash the co-operative movement. Here was a collective activity under free forms, such as they did not themselves possess, and did not understand. Moreover, there was the danger that here resistance might be generated and organised.

The co-operative slaughter-houses were the easiest to dispatch. All one had to do was to require that the hogs be delivered alive, so that they might be forwarded to Germany and slaughtered by German butchers.

But it was not long before the Germans realised that they were doing violence to something of great value: it is not wise to do away with an old and well-tried production apparatus at a time when there is need for maximum deliveries. Consequently the co-operative movement was reprieved.

Propaganda among the farmers now mostly takes the form of assertions that, no matter when or how the war ends, the English market is lost to Denmark for ever. England, the Germans say, has learnt on the one hand to supply her own needs, on the other that the Empire can provide her with such goods as she cannot herself produce. Danish agriculture will therefore always have to depend on the German market.

This propaganda, however, cuts no ice. The farmer believes that

when the seas are again open to Danish shipping, he will be able once more to establish relations with his old customers. But he knows it will take time. What the Germans have destroyed in the Danish production apparatus during the year and a half of their occupation of Denmark will take ten years to build up again. Old farm-stocks cannot spring from the ground in a day.

The Germans have attempted to cajole young Danish farmers to go to the Ukraine. They have promised these lads wonderful positions as restorers of Russian agriculture; but nobody has allowed himself be tempted to give Germany a helping hand in the scorched earth of the Ukraine.

PART THREE

DENMARK TAKES A HAND IN THE FIGHT— NOT AN ALLY, BUT IN THE FRONT LINE WITH ENGLAND

CHAPTER TWELVE

A KING AND HIS PEOPLE

IN THE summer of 1941 a Danish airman wanted to fly to England; he went to a rich man in Copenhagen, and asked him to finance the flight. Without more ado he was given the money he needed—several thousand kroner—and this farewell greeting:

"Tell them in London to come much oftener with their bombers. *We long for them.*"

Yes, the Danish people long for English air-raids. They cheer and wave when the young men of the R.A.F. fly low over Jutland, and the airmen wave back at them. On the grave in Aalborg in which lie buried half a score British airmen who had been shot down, there are always fresh flowers. These come from all parts of the country. Nobody thinks that these fliers with their bombs may well have damaged Danish property—indeed, cannot have failed to do so—and that they may have killed some of our people; but for all that, the Danes thank them with flowers, because they sacrificed their lives in the fight in which the Danes were not allowed to participate.

After one of these British air-raids on Aalborg a local bookseller had photographs taken of the houses which had suffered the worst damage, and sold them in a small portfolio. The Germans were at first inclined to encourage these sales; they found it excellent that the Danes should reveal how the R.A.F. was destroying their towns. But people vied with one another in buying up the pictures, simply because they were a proof of England's growing strength. Then the Germans confiscated the photographs. Once again their propaganda had reacted on themselves.

Denmark fell so quickly that there was scarcely time for people to hear of it; other and greater events happened at the same time: the battle in Narvik, the Germans' chase of King Haakon and his Government through Norway, four weeks' breathless fighting in the mountains—and then the catastrophes in Holland, Belgium and France. Swiftly and uninterruptedly events trod on each other's heels in those weeks which were for the peoples of Europe so dire and so pitiless.

So Denmark was soon forgotten. She had not fought, and was not fighting now, was she? One English paper, estimating the relative forces on one side and the other in this war, even included Denmark among the allies of Germany. But not Vichy France, and not Czecho-Slovakia either.

Did Czecho-Slovakia offer more resistance than Denmark? Did she not also lay down her arms without a struggle and hand over her production apparatus to the Germans? True, there is a Czech legion fighting for the Allied cause; but are there not also 4000 Danish sailors who daily risk their lives? Yet Denmark's stakes are never mentioned.

In the English Government's official declarations, names of countries have been reeled off, one after another, as participants in the blessings of peace when the Allied tribunal sat in London, but not once has Denmark's name been among them. The English radio played the National Anthems of the Allies, and the Danes sat by their radios Sunday after Sunday, listening rapt and moved—some of them to tears. Would *their own* lovely song never come? And it never did. Denmark was forgotten—written off!

The Danes know full well that their sacrifices on the field of battle have been small—almost negligible; but they are not afraid of any suffering that may be in store for them. They are ready to bear their part, in the firing line if they are allowed to, or else on the home front. It is a people matured and braced under their present experiences that now stand ready.

Betrayed by their own leaders (a side of this book which I, a Dane myself, have abhorred having to write); forgotten by those nations which they regard as friends and allies; finally humiliated by the Nazis, because these dared to believe that they could buy the Danish people with deceit and false friendliness—in spite of all this the Danes stand to-day with honour intact and conscience clean. They have had to find their way to the truth themselves, having no leadership within and no encouragement without. But they *did* find it.

A Danish editor in Aabenraa said one day, after the German occupation, that it would be the men of Slesvig who would win this war for Denmark. He is right. These Slesvig folk who, for three generations, had lived under German rule, bearing up through all their sufferings, simply because of their gallantry and their hope—these men it is who have taught their fellow-countrymen to defy and to have faith. In the midst of their oppression their old Danish song said:

*For nigh a thousand years the fight goes on,
Nor can they truly say that they have won.*

The Royal Standard now floats over Amalienborg every day in the year. All the King's trips have been cancelled; he no longer goes to visit his castles in the provinces; not for a day does he leave the seat

of government in Copenhagen. Always wearing the uniform of a general or full evening dress, with the Order of the Elephant on its gold chain displayed on his breast, the elderly monarch seems to indicate that he is every moment prepared to exercise his high office.

The Danes know, too, that the King takes an active part in the government of the country. They do not always understand—much less approve of—what is happening; but there is an atmosphere of staunch loyalty to the King, his personality and his politics, which is demonstrated in many ways. The people no longer trust the Government, but they understand that the only alternative is a Nazi Government which would be synonymous with the abdication of the King.

The King allowed his Prime Minister to announce this indirectly in Parliament, and the population would never tolerate such a Government. Dr. Vilh. la Cour, in his confiscated pamphlet, *Whether to say Yes and No*, has expressed it like this:

"Supposing that the internal political conflicts should in some incalculable way or other lead to a change in the system of government, which would bring our fast-disappearing band of native Nazis—or, if you like, *any other instruments of a non-Danish system*—to power, what would the result be?

"Internally: *Civil war*. Nothing less. No decree would be obeyed once brutal tyranny had succeeded in gaining a footing. Central and local administrations would fall into unpractised hands, for no man of honour could pledge himself in regard to a system so innately opposed to his Danish soul and spirit. *In Grundtvig's fatherland free speech in church and school would be gagged—think you without resistance? Nay, we have the right to believe of our people that they would, on the contrary, engage in an uncompromising fight as the only conceivable retort—a fight that would rouse hatred and everlasting scorn against those men, be they Nazis or others, who had been put in a position to stifle conscience. And the fight against them would be waged by hundreds of thousands in all parts of our homeland. . . .*"

For the King to break with the policy conducted by his Government would therefore mean handing Denmark over to the same situation as Norway. The people realise the King's responsibility, but it is a question whether the predominant part of the country would not now be willing to endure the burdens of a purely Quisling Government rather than see man after man picked out and made to disappear, privilege after privilege whittled away—all on the principle that the individual has to be sacrificed for the mass—the notorious "one-at-a-time" system applied to break spirit and resistance in each separate country.

King Christian has no political adviser. The head of the Government has not had his ear for a long time, and the political elements in the King's immediate entourage are not outstanding. His policy may hence be taken as the expression of his own firm will and a very sure instinct. The King is intimately sensitive to his people's mood.

A Swedish observer, Professor Frederik Böök, has given this description of the position of King Christian under his country's occupation :

"King Christian has, of course, always had a place in the hearts of the Danish people, but never quite in the same way as now. The constitutional and parliamentary development of the last decade ought, one would think, to have weakened the position of royalty, but the elementary historical development has suddenly set in with full force in the opposite direction. The King is the national symbol on which feelings and thoughts are concentrated. Not even his grandfather (Queen Alexandra's father, Christian IX), who still embodied the patriarchal tradition, could be more of a rallying-point. But this sentimental presentation is not enough. Christian the Tenth has also been a political factor of high importance. His prudence, his sense of reality, his deep sentiment of responsibility provide a guarantee which no political leader has been able to counterbalance. His influence is a permanent and indisputable reality. It is clear to all that he watches over Denmark's dignity, that he shows where to draw the line, that his attitude compels respect even among the foreigners in his land. More than once he has been known to indicate a limit beyond which none shall pass. His views are deferred to in the formation of Governments and in their performance, and when it is a question of the prospect of the uncertain future, many an eye is likewise turned to King Christian."

Such is the picture drawn by a Swede of the man who is to-day the Danish nation's rallying-point.

I have heard Danes abroad say that they could not properly understand this sundering of King and Government, seeing that Denmark is a constitutional monarchy, in which the King can rule only through his Government. That is true; but equally true is it that, on that April morning now two years ago when everything was obscured in a fog of confusion and one sensed fraud and feared treachery, in some inexplicable way the confidence of all men was focused on the King.

He did not show himself on that 9th of April, when the whole street scene was still dominated by German soldiers; but on the morning of the 10th, the day after the occupation, the people of Copenhagen flocked into the streets, where, day after day, regular as clockwork, the King goes for his morning ride, alone and unprotected. Would he ride this morning, with aliens holding their sway in the streets of the town? Yes, the King came. Erect and manly on his brown horse, he appeared above the crowd. His face was tremulous with conflicting emotions, his smile uncertain. It was the face of one who had endured much.

There was a spontaneous burst of homage and warm affection to greet him. Mothers held their little girls up to give flowers to the King; there was a deputation of artisans with a bouquet for him;

there were workmen and business men; there were schoolboys—and there were the Danish soldiers, without their weapons now, but intent, for all that, to go to greet their King. His arms were full of flowers, and in every street he passed more were presented to him. The situation was getting out of hand, when a small errand-boy rode up on his bicycle, with the tray in front, and said:

"May I help your Majesty?"

And the flowers were placed on the tray. Other lads came along; they accompanied the King on his ride through the streets, and took turns in cycling home to the palace with the spring flowers. German soldiers who passed did not in the least understand this homage to an officer, and when they asked who he was, and were told that he was the King of the country, riding alone through the streets, they understood still less. Perhaps they were thinking of how often they had had to stand in endless lines, for hours at a stretch, keeping guard with loaded rifles in the streets through which the German autocrat would drive at a furious rate when he wished to show himself to his "beloved" *fellow-countrymen*.

That morning King Christian knew that it was to him that the Danish people were looking for guidance and direction. He felt that there was contact between him and them.

The Germans know that in King Christian they have their most dangerous opponent. The King will fulfil to the last jot the agreement he was compelled to sign with the occupation troops on 9th April, and he will call upon the citizens of the land to be obedient to them with a "correct and dignified demeanour", as his message to the people says. But the King does not lose sight of the fact that the time will come when the country will no longer be occupied by German troops—and he does not believe in a German victory in this war. He is conscious of the responsibility of his office in the light of the past thousand years of unbroken history, and—let us hope—in the light of a future thousand years as well.

As time went on confidence in the King found expression again and again in those little informal meetings between His Majesty and the inhabitants of his capital. When it was announced on the radio that the King had suddenly sent his excuses and would be unable to attend a German reception, people telephoned to the newspapers did this mean that the King was ill, and would be unable to go for his ride next morning? because they did so wish to express their thanks to him with a few flowers for those excuses. . . .

The Danes are good enough royalists, but able as a rule to take happenings in the King's family fairly calmly. Not so, however, on the 16th April, 1940—seven days after the occupation—when Crown Princess Ingrid gave birth to her first baby, little Princess Margrete. That is a historic name in Denmark: a namesake of the princess Queen Margrete, had united the three northern kingdoms. . . . The fact that a child to the Crown Princess saw the light in this gloomy time was felt to be an event which did indeed concern all of us. Ever sensible, serious people could not help, as it were, seeing an omen in it

Then, on the 26th of September of the same year, when King Christian celebrated his seventieth birthday, enthusiasm for the King rose to heights one would never have believed possible in Denmark. The King had said no to all festivities: he would go for his morning ride as usual, nothing more. But the corporations and the representatives of the citizens and the Government insisted: the King must drive through the streets of the capital and receive the homage of his people; it was doubly necessary in a time like this. Finally the King gave in—but only on one condition: he did not want to see one German soldier on the streets: they must be kept inside their barracks that day. And the Germans actually complied with this request. They feared the demonstrations which would take place if they did not.

To make up for this, they chose that very day to get the Danish papers to announce on their front pages that the King's younger brother, King Haakon of Norway, had been deposed by the Germans.

The King's name is the only one for which the Germans have any respect—presumably upstart Hitler's inferiority complex in regard to the old dynastic House. When the German military authorities came to the Under-Secretary who has to manage the affairs of the Theatre Royal, and asked him for permission to use the theatre for a soldiers' play, the Under-Secretary said no—straight from the shoulder. Surprised at such an unconditional refusal, the Germans asked, a trifle ironically, who was to prevent it?

"I," answered the official. "It is His Majesty's theatre. If the theatre is to be lent, the King must be asked. The person to ask him is myself, and *I will not ask the King for anything of the kind.*"

So there was no German performance at the Theatre Royal.

Queen Alexandrine, who is of German birth, has been asked if she would be patroness of other performances or concerts, given for the benefit of the German Red Cross, but she has always refused.

The Germans have tried in every conceivable way to gain access to the King in order to infect him with Nazi ideas, but only the most necessary and strictly correct relations have been maintained between the Court and the German occupation authorities and the German Minister. Then Berlin sent a new legation secretary to Copenhagen. He was a nephew of Queen Alexandrine, the Hereditary Grand Duke Friedrich Franz of Mecklenburg. On taking office, the nephew paid a visit to his aunt and uncle. For half an hour they discussed various members of the family and mutual acquaintances. Then the Grand Duke attempted to talk politics. King Christian was on his feet immediately, bidding him good-bye:

"You were welcome as a member of the family," he said; "but if you try to take advantage of that, we cannot receive you again at the palace."

Three times the King has, quite openly and without any attempt at concealment, shown his opposition to the Germans. The first time was when he sent flowers to the policeman who had been

roughly handled by the Nazi hooligans. The second time was when he ostentatiously stayed away from the official opening of the German academy; and the third time when he gave an audience to the author Vilh. la Cour and his publisher, before they began their term of imprisonment for insulting the Germans.

King Christian's appeal to his people to show a dignified and correct demeanour to the Germans must undoubtedly have prevented a great deal of opposition in the early days of the occupation. People felt bound by loyalty to the King's request. They indulged only in such collective manifestations of opposition or solidarity as came within the limits of the royal appeal: they went to community sing-songs or they buried themselves in the works of Grundtvig—a particularly dignified and lofty reaction against the German aggression. One could not, of course, say that it was very effective with the Nazi mentality.

It was doubtless thanks to an excessive loyalty to the King that the Danish torpedo-boats were handed over to the Germans without any of them having to be fetched up from the bottom of the sea. Slowly, then, it dawned on people that they could be *too* loyal: with a loyalty which set bounds not originally dreamt of. In any case, the Danish people began to judge for themselves. . . .

But first fidelity to King and fatherland manifested itself in a manner at once simple and impressive. The Danes found in community singing an expression for their feelings, which at this time—the days after the fall of France—had to find vent in something new, something liberating, something on a big scale.

It began with a local schoolmaster and a baker, in some little town or other in Jutland, one fine evening inviting the people of the neighbourhood to come and sing Danish songs together round the piano. The people of South Jutland—or Slesvig—had found consolation in their old national songs during the fifty-six years they had been under foreign rule. No one can sing these songs as well as they do; one recognises in their singing a confession of faith, and now those plain citizens of Jutland had quite spontaneously turned to the same source of comfort. They came together in hundreds, so that their meeting had to be held in the open air, and there they sang. Nothing else; yet the song was heard all over Denmark. In every borough and every town people made dates with each other simply to go and sing. The movement grew from thousands to tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands. In the still evenings of summer one could hear the singing from one village to the next. The sound of the harsh, untrained voices was borne out over the land.

Then one evening in September the whole of Denmark met together for community singing. In Copenhagen there were several different groups; in the Faelled Park alone 150,000 people took part. In Esbjerg, with its 36,000 inhabitants, 20,000 met to sing; in Hasle,

where the total number of inhabitants is 1400, 1000 met to sing. There must have been some two million people that Sunday, at the same time, confessing their faith in Denmark in their songs.

Was that merely "national sentimentality"? as the Foreign Minister Scavenius cynically remarked. In any case, the Germans found it dangerous enough to prohibit.

At the same time as this was happening, there was a remarkable coming together among the young. Almost all the youth organisations, political and non-political alike, decided in September to found a new association: "Young Denmark at Work", which was to be headed by Professor Hal Koch, a young man of outstanding personality who had lectured all over the country to thousands of hearers on the importance of Grundtvig for the spirit of freedom in Denmark.

This new association had as its aim to "support all affiliated and unaffiliated Danish youth societies for national work, helping them to promote Danish spiritual life in the widest possible sense for the purpose of establishing the will to retain Danish national spirit, based upon Danish popular government, also to awaken a sense of responsibility for the Danish social structure and Denmark's future, and to encourage willingness to undertake responsibilities for maintaining a free Scandinavian nation".

The affiliated organisations have some 300,000 members.

Frits Clausen's paper, *Fædrelandet*, called on the Danish Ministry of Justice to impose some check on Hal Koch and his organisation for their "undisguised demonstrations of hostility against any form of Nazism", and in connection with the football-match incident of 5th June, 1941, accused them of being the source of all civil demonstrations.

The students who have often been of some political importance in Denmark at the time also had a clearance. Their president, Cai Eigtved, proxy in the Transport Ministry, had to relinquish his duties in the middle of his period of office, as—like his Chief, the Minister Gunnar Larsen—he had misinterpreted the development in Denmark. A prominent young scientist, Professor Joh. Brøndstedt, whose Nordic and democratic sympathies are well known, was later appointed.

Changes were made everywhere, people who did not stand up to the trials of the occupation being replaced by suitable men.

After the hopelessness of the first summer months, faith sprang up once more. One reason for this was that people had found each other in the inner assurance that Denmark was on the threshold of a trial of strength; the chief reason, however, was that England had re-created hope in Europe's oppressed nations.

Then came what the Germans at first, somewhat scornfully, called "the English sickness". This manifested itself chiefly in a deep admiration for the personality of the English Prime Minister. In spite of the censorship, people perceived the great thing that had happened when, after the fall of France, at the moment of the Empire's

Therefore regulations to the Press were tightened up, penal laws made more severe; the police force strengthened, and communications with other nations impeded. One by one the most irreconcilable elements in the opposition were picked out: from the Government, from the Parliament, from the Press. The salt was removed, in the hope that only a weak-kneed, weak-willed opposition would be left. The Danish people noted that a situation not unlike that in Norway, Holland, Belgium and France was developing in their own country.

There was no more time to wait for an organised opposition. Denmark is a small country, in which a police force numbering 5000 could very easily track down secret organisations and underground propaganda, so the individual Dane began to work for himself. He adopted Hitler's "one-at-a-time" method for his own.

If you try, with the help of the sentences passed to-day in Denmark, to form for yourself some sort of picture of the resistance which is being offered to the Germans, your picture will be a broken mosaic; but on a map of Denmark stick a pin at the different places where sentences have been passed, and you will have the outline of a country in which resistance is scattered far and wide. A net seems to be spread, even though the catch may be only "one at a time".

Moreover, only a fraction of the sabotage ever gets as far as the law-courts. Scarcely a day passes now without sums of money being offered to any one helping to discover the person responsible for some attempted sabotage or other, but even temptingly large sums do not produce informers. The audacious saboteurs may continue their work in safety.

One day the ferry-boat plying between Esbjerg and the little North Sea island of Fanø, now used exclusively as a German military bastion, goes down; some valves in the bottom have been unscrewed. One thousand kroner reward is offered for information. A day or two afterwards a German goods-transport runs off the rails at Esbjerg; part of the track had been removed—another offer of 1000 kroner. At the last moment several well-constructed bombs are picked up in the harbour of Copenhagen close to a steamer loaded with agricultural products for Germany. Telephone cables in Jutland are cut night after night, or have nails knocked into them. Police patrols scour the lonely moors where the cables lie concealed in the edges of coarse grass, but find nothing. There is sand in the oil destined for German cars, sugar in the petrol. Pieces of wrought iron are found in the machinery of factories working for the Germans: five hundred men are thrown out of employment while the necessary repairs are done; it takes a week to complete them, but the German orders have been delayed. The whole of the personnel on one of the Big Belt ferries has been arrested. Three ferry-boats had been sunk—this could not all have been due to English mines. Danish sabotage must have been in part to blame. One could go on indefinitely citing instances like these. Workmen, farmers, officials—all classes take part in the active resistance to the Germans.

The Germans are afraid of it. Soldiers and officers alike no longer dare to walk abroad after dark. In Frederikshavn a division of troops refused to go on board a Danish ship bound for Norway, because another troopship had recently been sunk with every soul on board, Danish saboteurs having bored holes in it. These men feared a similar fate. Every tenth man was shot, the rest sent off.

At the same time a great work of enlightenment and propaganda is going on: intrepid university men, clergymen, writers and high-school men are tirelessly travelling up and down the country, collecting hearers into meeting-houses, parsonages—even inns. People in the district come from long distances in the dark evenings to attend the meetings.

One Danish professor, a Nobel prize-winner, and famous all over the world, had the offer of a world-tour immediately after the occupation; he also had offers of professorships from several American and English universities. There was a general concern as to his fate under the Nazi régime—his very life might be in danger. But to all offers he said no; he felt that his place was now in Denmark, and he, who had been a quiet scholar, never going out, but spending his evenings in his laboratory, now altered his way of living entirely. He cultivated society, sought out the places where he would meet the largest number of people, talked, argued, persuaded. He felt that he had a mission. Someone might occasionally ask him:

“Supposing England does not win, after all?”

He would shake his head. ‘That possibility must be excluded—it was a waste of time to think of it, for life would then have lost its value. And as one inspired he went on expounding the cause of liberty.

Others remain quietly at their posts in the different parts of the country, accomplishing, within their small circle, a work of preparation, so that everything may be ready for the day when an English invasion takes place. People who have travelled round, estimating the value of this work, and getting the various separate sections to join up as a whole, tell of doctors, farmers and schoolmasters, who have organised the inhabitants of their respective localities.

A great deal of surprise was occasioned when Lieut.-General Prior, Chief of Command, suddenly retired in August 1941. In the Press he let it be clearly understood that it was neither a loss of health nor a loss of spirit that induced him to take this step. Nor, for once in a way, was it the Germans who had compelled their prominent opponent to stand back. General Prior went entirely of his own free will. He had wanted to fight on 9th April, but his advice was not followed. In an order of the day he had thanked the Danish soldiers for the sacrifice that some of them had, after all, been able to make in defence of their fatherland:

“I wish to emphasise [he said in that order of the day] that not a man in the army shirked his duty to King and Country. Every

order was obeyed, in several instances with the sacrifice of life. You can all hold your heads up, and look every one in the face, knowing that you did your duty. The sacrifices offered were not in vain. They all showed that each man was ready to give himself for his country and that the soldiers did their duty like good Danish soldiers."

For the next year and a half he had remained as Commander-in-Chief after the German occupation.

Like so many other prominent Danes, he remained at his post out of consideration of the fact that it was better to keep watch oneself than to leave positions of importance to men who might more easily submit to German demands. He was retiring now as a protest against the action of the Government on the outbreak of the Russo-German War. Danish soldiers had not been allowed to fight for their country against the Germans on the 9th April; now, however, the Government allowed them to enlist under the German banners in the struggle against Russia. He would not remain at the head of an army which voluntarily handed its men over to the conquerors.

General Prior is sixty-five. He has served in the British army.

Are the Danes fighting to-day on the Home front?

Let us see what they have done and what they are doing.

In the first place, they have not become Nazis. The Nazi party is smaller to-day than it was before the occupation.

Denmark retains to-day just as many German soldiers as on the day of the invasion. Sixty thousand men must always be stationed there; in spite of the army in Russia crying out for more soldiers, there must be no diminution in Denmark.

Although in the beginning the Germans spared nothing in order to win over the Danes, to make them have confidence in the German cause and belief in a German victory, a mood has been aroused and encouraged which is just as full of hate to Germany, just as full of gratitude and admiration for the stakes of England and her allies as in any other of the freedom-loving countries now in German occupation.

There *might* have been more, you will perhaps say. Why do young Danes not escape and join the English army? They have never been asked to. On the contrary. A Danish officer, Captain Eyvind Knauer, who had remained in Finland with three hundred Danish volunteers, not yet discharged, after the occupation of Denmark, reported to the British authorities in Helsingfors, and asked whether he and all his men might fight for England. He was told that he might not. The place for Danish volunteers to report was London, and there was no way of helping him to get across—although the port of Petsamo was still open to English steamers. When these three hundred men arrived home and told their Danish friends what had

happened, it was not very encouraging; one had a feeling of being superfluous.

Nor was this frame of mind improved when the German Telegraph Agency, which was always able to intercept Reuter's telegrams, announced one day—whether truly or falsely has never been confirmed—that Reuter had sent out a correction to an earlier report of one of Churchill's speeches. The speech, as first reported, said that England was fighting, along with that of other countries, for Denmark's freedom also. The correction required the deletion of Denmark's name, and when the speech was later heard on the wireless and printed in the Swedish papers, Denmark's name was *not* there. Once more one had the feeling of being superfluous.

It does occasionally happen that Danish fugitives land in England in spite of all difficulties; but when they do, nothing is ever said about it. If the Danish B.B.C. could state that various young airmen had defied all obstacles and were now serving with the R.A.F., it would fortify others in their desire to come over. But they never get to know anything.

The Dane in England who has come here during the war is touched and deeply grateful for England's attitude in regard to Denmark, and this applies both to official circles and to the man in the street. There is a friendliness and a sympathy that touch the heart. But it is the folks at home who should know this.

There has to be a shout before echo gives an answer.

APPENDIX

Some Sentences Passed in Present-day Denmark

3rd May, 1940: A Slæsvig man—Viggo Lauston—was arrested under suspicion of espionage against Germany. "Committed suicide" in German prison.

26th July, 1940: The Ministry for Foreign Affairs informs the Danish Press: During the hearing by the Superior Court of Justice of the case against the 149 members of Frits Clausen's party, statements were made indicating that others besides members of the party were implicated in the disturbances in Roskilde in July. These allegations must not be reported.

(It was German soldiers who had helped the Danish Nazis to attack the Roskilde police.)

14th August, 1940: Youths in Frederikshavn started a fight with German soldiers. They were taken to Copenhagen, where the case was gone into. Terms of imprisonment varying from eighty days to two years were passed.

13th May, 1941: Günther Wiegert sentenced to thirty days' imprisonment for writing a "V" on a sign-board belonging to the Germans.

12th June, 1941: Bernhard Petersen, aged 18, sentenced by Copenhagen Municipal Court to one year's imprisonment for stealing and destroying German military property.

20th July, 1941: A man, aged 39, sent to prison for thirty days for spreading rumours that Germans had confiscated copper and sent it to Germany. A man, aged 48, got twelve days' imprisonment for having talked disparagingly about the German army to a German soldier. A workman, aged 40, sentenced to thirty days' imprisonment for having addressed a German soldier in English. A middle-aged man was sentenced to two years' imprisonment for having libelled Hitler and the German people in a letter to the local German commander.

29th July, 1941: Charles Hestbech Nielsen of Kolding was sentenced by a Copenhagen Court to fifteen months' imprisonment for cutting telephone cable belonging to German army; tearing shoulder-strap off a German military greatcoat and removing a military cap from a cloak-room. He attempted also to steal German soldier's dagger.

7th August 1941: The great road-works in connexion with the extension of the Hjørring-Hirtshals and Hjørring-Løkken-Aabybro railway (works being done for the German military) have been repeatedly sabotaged by the emptying overnight of the fuel tanks. A bucket of fine sand, added during the night of 1st August, destroyed the motors.

And here are a few more small offences:

Ten to twenty days' imprisonment for "jeopardising Denmark's position in the eyes of a foreign Power"; one man at Sønderborg by copying chain-letters, two others at Haderslev by typewriting copies of a song "insulting to a foreign Power".

A petty officer and an able seaman of the Danish Navy, fifteen days for copying for distribution anonymous circulars "containing rumours".

A man in Copenhagen two and a half years' imprisonment for offensive conduct towards a German N.C.O. and afterwards striking a German soldier in the face.

Another man in Copenhagen two years for throwing bottles at a German soldier's head; eighteen months for publicly punching a German soldier in the face and provoking a fight between the crowd and the German soldiers; six months for fighting with German soldiers when drunk.

Six persons in Copenhagen, including a girl of 22, one month's imprisonment, forty days and two years for molesting and insulting German soldiers and officers, and throwing a bottle at a German soldier.

Two boys in Aalborg given seven days' detention for whistling during certain films (the Ufa news reel—which is especially unpopular).

A fisherman named Jensen, carrying a basket, shouted: "First-class mackerel, fat as Goering." After a fortnight's imprisonment Jensen reappeared in the streets shouting: "First-class mackerel—as fat as a fortnight ago."

Prison sentences for "disorderly behaviour" rose, in fact, in Copenhagen alone from forty cases to 2000 during the first year of the occupation.

However, it must be said on behalf of the Danish Courts that it was not only for demonstrations against the Germans that they passed sentence.

In the course of nine months no fewer than 649 Danish Nazis were arrested, and another 1700 were tried.

From the examples cited here it must not be deduced that only this sort of petty annoyance and small brawling take place in Denmark. Sentences in this sort of case are daily passed all over the country, and the penalty fixed is quite without connection with that fixed for ordinary crimes. Moreover, these sentences are always published; local papers are really obliged to make them known, so that the sentences may act as a deterrent to further acts of the same nature.

But there are other sentences which are given no publicity, cases which must not be mentioned at all. These are concerned with serious misdemeanours—sabotage and the like against the German military machine. If those were published, they might by their very number—so it is feared—stimulate to further active resistance.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

“YES, SIR!”

IF it is true that the fight for England's life-line—the ocean route from “Democracy's arsenal” in the United States to the British Isles—is the decisive factor in this war, then it is also correct to say that Denmark is taking part in the very front firing-line of this war.

For 4000 Danish sailors—all those, that is to say, who were outside Danish ports on the day the German occupation took place—are now sailing either under the English or the American flag, and bringing arms and ammunition, food and industrial products from the Empire and from America to England. Forty per cent. of the Danish fleet escaped capture by the Germans, and 400,000 tons of it—the best-equipped and most modern ships—have been taken over with all their crews by the British mercantile marine, and now sail with *Danebrog* and *Union Jack* floating over them cheek by jowl.

When, too, President Roosevelt resolved to “build a bridge over the Atlantic” in order to make sure that goods produced by the American war industry for England should also reach their rightful owners, he used Danish territory for the pillars of his bridge. It was Danish land, which free Danes outside the reach of the German army of occupation willingly and gladly handed over for this grand bridge-building scheme.

“England's life-line” now goes from the east coast of America over the *Danish* colony of Greenland, on to Iceland—united of old to Denmark—thence via the *Danish* Faroes—those rocky isles in the Atlantic—and down to the British coast.

British and American ships have naval bases on Danish possessions; protective troops are stationed on the islands; flying-bases have been erected, and everywhere the Danish authorities and the Danish population render England and America willing and hearty assistance.

Wherever England has been able to talk to the Danes—when it was possible to think and talk freely—the Danish answer has been a ready and enthusiastic: "*We fight with you!*"

In February 1941, when the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Shipping, Sir Arthur Salter, was in Newcastle opening two clubs for Danish sailors whose headquarters are there, he said the following words to the Danes:

"Denmark is not an Ally in name, but thanks to the assistance you are rendering, you stand on exactly the same footing as the Allies, and I cannot emphasise strongly enough the help you are giving."

Those words gladdened the Danish seamen; they felt like soldiers fighting at the front in the Allied cause, and they were proud to receive this English appreciation.

On the morning of the 9th April radio orders were sent out to all Danish ships outside home waters to make for an Italian, Spanish or other neutral port. But the captains of the ships knew quite well that those orders were sent at Germany's request, by a Government no longer free. Danish legations which received instructions about the ships put them into their waste-paper baskets. With the exception of a very few ships which were near the United States and had an American cargo on board, practically all the ships went to an Allied port.

In Denmark the ship-owners refused to obey a demand made by the German authorities that each of them should instruct his own captains to sail to neutral ports. The Danish ship-owners maintained that, seeing the Germans had deprived them of the use of the telegraph, and that they were therefore unable to send instructions themselves to the ships, the Danish ship's master was from now onwards to be looked upon as manager of his part of the shipping concern—the ship which he himself sailed. It was up to each of these masters, therefore, to make his own decisions.

So all the thirty-eight Danish ships lying in American harbours—and many of them were the best in the Danish mercantile fleet—came to sail in the Allied cause, thanks to the Danish Minister's indefatigable efforts. On the day that it was made known in Denmark that the Minister in Washington had concluded an agreement with the American Government about this, shares on the Copenhagen Stock Exchange soared, so certain were people of a British victory.

What is the value of the 4000 Danish sailors in England's war effort? The Norwegian Prime Minister, Hr. Nygaardsvold, said in a radio talk from London that the help given by them

wegian sailors and the Norwegian ships, in sailing for the Allies, was equivalent to an army of a million men.

Taking that statement as a basis, Mr. Krøyer Kielberg, President of the Danish Council in London, found that the contribution of the 4000 Danish sailors would be equivalent to an army of at least 125,000 men.

Nevertheless these Danish men were still without recognition of their services as "front-line soldiers". Their Norwegian colleagues had bought and manned four of the fifty destroyers which America made over to England, and they sailed under the Norse flag. The Danish Council in London asked the British Admiralty and the Ministry of Shipping if Danish sailors could man ships of war so that the whole world could see they were working for England. The British authorities, while sympathising with the Danish aspirations to take their place in fighting ships, replied that the Danish seamen could do more for the cause of freedom by continuing to loyally man commercial ships sailing in the Allied interests than by being enrolled in the British Navy.

Naturally this reply was a severe disappointment to the Danish sailors, but they loyally accepted the decision, and go on gallantly and tirelessly with their perilous task.

At a recent service for Danish seamen, Senior Officers from the Admiralty attended as a mark of respect for all that Danish seamen are doing.

There have, too, been proofs in plenty that it is the most perilous routes of all that the Danish ships sail. When President Roosevelt made his historic speech on the 12th of December, and informed the two Axis Powers that the American fleet had been instructed to *shoot first* if an Axis ship showed itself in those waters declared by America to be in her zone of interests, it was after two Danish ships had been sunk. These were among the thirty-eight now sailing under the American flag, and were manned almost entirely by Danes. Both were sunk in the danger zone between Greenland and Iceland. The crews were saved, but the ships were a total loss. However, the loss thus suffered by Danish merchant shipping was more than outweighed by the knowledge that it was the ostensible motive for the outlawing of Axis raiders in the Atlantic.

Danish sailors in England have formed a new organisation to take the place of the unions at home, from which they are now separated. This organisation will do its utmost to build itself up in strength and economic prosperity, so that after the war it will bear transplanting to Denmark, where it will take over any remnants of shipping unions still to the fore in that country. It is not thought likely, however, that these will have survived the German régime. Even while in England, and during a war, the Danish sailors uphold the honour of free trade-union co-operation, and when they go back home again they will carry with them to their comrades this precious freedom.

In order to encourage their comrades at home, the Danish seamen

broadcast a resolution, warning the working-classes of Denmark against the danger of being deceived and misled by German propaganda concerning a crusade against Russia. Here is an extract from it:

"... We call upon you to begin and to extend the 'Go Slow' movement. Take two hours to finish a job which you would normally do in two minutes, and place every obstacle possible in the way of the completion of all German orders, so that these oppressors and exploiters may have a mere minimum of profit out of you.

"A special appeal to our fellow-workers in transport jobs: your chance to speed up the successful ending of the war is particularly big, as transport is the weakest link in Hitler's war-machine. Therefore, for every hour you can delay a ship, for every minute a train is overdue, the fall of the Nazis is brought nearer, and with it the liberation of your fatherland."

Denmark's losses in commercial shipping in this war have been frightful, both in crews and ships. The losses were big already while Denmark was hoping to be able to keep her neutrality; for the Germans broke their promises that Denmark would be able to maintain her international trade on the same scale as hitherto.

When Germany forced her non-aggression pact on Denmark in May 1939, there was one item in it which stated that, in the event of a conflict of the Great Powers, Denmark would be perfectly free to continue her normal foreign trade. It was this item which, despite the scepticism among the people, made it possible for the pact to go through.

But now Germany suddenly declared that "to sail to England was to sail to death", and without either mercy or warning she began to murder Danish sailors.

Consequently the battle going on to-day under England's flag has a twofold aim: in the first place, to assist in the liberation of Denmark, and to do so on such a scale that Denmark's share in the burdens of the struggle cannot be under-estimated on the day peace is declared; in the second, to recover the right to sail freely on every sea, the sacred principle which is one of the war aims of England and America, and without which Denmark cannot exist.

There were not very many Danes in England when Denmark was invaded, and only a very few were able to come later. Those who are in the country, however, are all doing their duty to help England. Young men in their twenties applied at once to be taken on by the Royal Air Force, but at first a good many were turned down because Denmark was not formally an ally. Seeing that this obstacle has now been removed, there is a steady increase in the numbers and several Danish military fliers have succeeded in getting over and are now serving as pilots in bombers and fighters. Some have been awarded military decorations; others have met death—Denmark's best-known flier, for instance, Harald Hansen.

These Danish fliers are still serving only as units in the English Air Force, but the intention is that they shall later be assembled into a special Danish fighter squadron. The Norwegians already possess their own fighter squadron and special training camp in Canada, so the Danes in England and America have collected money for a Danish squadron which will employ exclusively Danish crews. The money has come in plentifully, and there will also soon be a sufficient number of trained fliers. It will be a proud day when that squadron first takes the air as part of the glorious Royal Air Force.

On the third—land—front, Danish soldiers are also fighting. So far only a hundred men have been received into the proud and historic regiment of The Buffs, the Colonel-in-Chief of which is the King of Denmark. Their battle-dress is English uniform with Danebrog and the word Denmark on the sleeve. Young Danes in Canada are also very keen on enlisting in the Canadian army.

It is worth while noting the enthusiasm with which the few Danes who have had the chance to do so enlist under England's flag, and comparing this with the results of Germany's efforts to recruit Danes in Denmark.

Although with the creation of the Nazi *Regiment Nordland* and the *Phibots Danmark*, an appeal was made to sentiments from which a response may always be evoked in certain quarters—hatred of "the Reds" and fear of Bolshevism—only some four or five hundred men came forward at first and, as time goes on, the numbers steadily dwindle, so much so that the Germans now no longer publish them—"for military reasons". No officer ever comes forward now.

During the first Russo-Finnish war, in the winter of 1939-40, over 1000 Danish men reported for service in a few months, because the sacred rights of a small nation were menaced. Many more would doubtless have volunteered had the Government not strictly enforced the regulation which forbids in Denmark recruiting for a foreign State, so that volunteers had to travel to Sweden when they wanted to enlist.

To-day it would be possible to recruit many divisions willing to fight in England for the cause of democracy, if there was any possibility of helping them to get out of the country.

On the day that a British expeditionary force lands in Denmark to begin the march against Berlin, the Danes will doubtless welcome it with enthusiasm as the first active step to the liberation of Denmark.

Why is there no Danish Government in London?

Danes in England and Danes at home are asking this question.

That the Danish Legation in London continues to be recognised by the English Government, although the English Legation had to leave Copenhagen, is considered as a mark of generosity towards Denmark and also as an acknowledgment of the fact that the Danish

King and Government acted under compulsion; but it gives Denmark a very peculiar standing in the embattled Europe of to-day.

It is generally realised in Denmark that the Danish Minister in London, Count Edouard Reventlow, must have shown great tact and ability to be able to keep a position of such extraordinary difficulty; a good many people, however, are wondering whether Denmark's great assets—in men, material and territory—now out of the reach of the Copenhagen Government, should not be assembled under one joint administration. These assets, important as they are, would then be of greater use to the fighting democracies, and they would make Denmark an ally in name, as she has been in actual fact for some considerable time.

In the United States the Danish Minister, de Kauffmann, exercises the functions of a Danish Government at the moment, on behalf of our interests in the United States and on the Atlantic. Although he was long ago dismissed by the Copenhagen Government, he is still recognised by Washington as the person who can legitimately act in Denmark's interests.

In order to unite to some extent all those who fight for England's victory and Denmark's freedom, with the help of British arms, a group of patriotic Danes in England resolved to form a Danish Council.

The official lines on which the Council is to be run are these:

"We all want to see Denmark free and independent. We all want to see Great Britain victorious, and we believe that the liberation of Denmark depends wholly and entirely on an allied victory. We also believe that it is our duty to help Great Britain in her struggle, and that by so doing we shall also serve Denmark.

"There is every possible reason and justification for the belief that Denmark, which hopes to recover her freedom at the hands of Great Britain, should wish to share in the toil, sweat and blood which are necessary for victory.

"It is of supreme importance to us that the true voice of Denmark shall be heard, and, as time goes on, we intend to proclaim loudly enough for all the world to hear, that we are heart and soul on the side of Great Britain, and that the free Danes in this country are most anxious to offer their help with whatever contribution and in whatever manner may best suit Great Britain.

"A crusade for justice, freedom, tolerance and confidence in international matters may entail discomforts upon private individuals so long as it lasts, but one must be prepared to fight and to suffer for the cause."

This preamble was drawn up by the President of the Council, Mr. Kroyer Kielberg, Director of the United Molasses Co., one of the most prominent Danes in England, who has in the meantime become a naturalised British subject.

The aims of the Council are as follows:

"(a) The Council will work for the freedom and independence of Denmark.

"(b) Strengthen Danish national feeling by uniting all Danish and Danish-born men and women for the solution of special problems which have arisen in consequence of the war and the interruption of relations with the homeland.

"(c) In all relations with the English nation give practical proofs of the deep sentiment of loyalty and sympathy inspiring all Danes in Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

"(d) Co-operate with any other organisation interested in supporting 'the Danish Council's' aims and with organisations and committees already in existence."

Concerning relations with the Danish Minister, the President of the Council said that "our work will be carried on within the scope of the English Government's policy and attitude towards the Danish Government and its accredited representative. The English Government recognises the Danish Government as a friendly-disposed neutral Government temporarily under German control and shows the Danish Legation and general consulate a corresponding consideration; we ought all to be glad and grateful for this attitude and to work in full recognition of the position, taking as our guide the course set before us by the English Government."

It will therefore be seen that the Danish Council acted with the greatest consideration towards the Danish Government, in order not to create difficulties with the Germans. The Foreign Minister, however, was on the alert, and ready to strike the moment he thought he could cast doubts on the unusual loyalty of the Council. In February 1941 he believed that the opportunity had come, and through the official Danish news-agency, Ritzbus Bureau, he sent out the following statement:

"In the beginning of October 1940 the English radio announced that members of the Danish colony in London had founded a Danish Council in London. According to particulars which have come to my notice, the idea was that this Council should be a kind of central organ for all Danes in England, safeguarding the interests of Danish citizens during the present difficult situation.

"There has now been published in the English radio's Scandinavian broadcast an intimation that the Danish Council in England should be recognised as a Government. This intimation sounds perfectly meaningless and completely fantastic, seeing that there is in Denmark a legal Danish Government elected by the King, and that it is out of the question that the said Council—in defiance of law and constitution and without the King's sanction—can have constituted itself a Government, and failing that, there can be no talk of 'recognition'.

"It sounds still more absurd that the Danish Minister in London

Count Reventlow, should have taken part in discussions of this affair, seeing that Count Reventlow was sent to London to represent the King of Denmark and the Government of Denmark, and cannot, of course, place himself at the disposition of any other—self-styled—Danish Government."

What was the public reaction in Denmark to such a declaration from the Foreign Minister? To begin with, people were amused at the irascible Minister who had heard with only half an ear what had been said on the British radio, and had without careful thought allowed himself to be mastered by his anger to such an extent as to use in a diplomatic statement words like "fantastic", "meaningless" and "absurd". They pictured his pen spluttering with sheer temper. The Danish Council lost no time in replying. This they did the next day, 21st February, by means of a statement in the B.B.C.:

"As was fully reported in the Danish and other Scandinavian broadcasts, the Danish Council, representing free Danes who are endeavouring to secure the restoration of their country's independence by giving assistance to the British war effort, *had a practical proof of the full official support and sympathy of the British Government* at the luncheon given by the Anglo-Danish Society in London on the 18th February.

"The Danish Council has not been set up, as the Germans insist—doubtless with their own action in Norway in mind—as an alternative Danish Government, nor has it had recognition as such.

"German statements that the Danish Council has been officially recognised as a *Government* are quite untrue. This is only a typical German attempt to create confusion and irresolution among Danish listeners."

Mingled with the amusement over the excessive zeal of Scavenius, which had once again led him to compromise himself, there was, however, some disappointment that there had been in the Danish broadcast such a definite denial that any Danish Government had been recognised in London. People had secretly hoped that the Foreign Minister might have been right, and that a Danish Government had been constituted and recognised in London. It was during those February days that we learned of the handing over by the Copenhagen Government of the eight torpedo-boats; we felt less sure than ever of the Danish Government's policy towards Germany. Besides, two-thirds of the Danish commercial fleet, as well as Denmark's possessions in the Atlantic, now lay beyond the reach of that Government's sphere of influence. So it seemed very far from "meaningless", "fantastic" and "absurd" that the human destinies and the material values represented by that fact should be defended by a supreme Danish authority, which would be recognised by England, and would put forth its every effort on the English side, fully, entirely and officially—a perfectly valid mouthpiece for the

many thousands made homeless when the Germans took possession of Denmark, and having lost all contact with their native land. Such an authority would likewise have represented the nine-tenths of the total Danish population who did not stand behind the Government in Copenhagen.

It was a luncheon arranged by the Anglo-Danish Society which—as may be gathered from the foregoing—so provoked the ire of the Danish Foreign Minister. This luncheon was held at the Dorchester Hotel, and two members of the British Government were present, as well as the Minister for Denmark, Count Reventlow.

Count Reventlow, himself presumably just as opposed to the Danish Government as nine-tenths of his compatriots, took the opportunity to do homage to the King, who is the rallying-point for all Danes in these disastrous times.

There was nothing in his speech to cause the Foreign Minister any anxiety.

The two members of the English Government who attended the luncheon were the Right Hon. R. A. Butler, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and Captain Crookshank, Financial Secretary to the Treasury; both good friends of Denmark. Captain Crookshank said, *inter alia*:

"We may say that, through all their trials, the Danish people are clinging to their own ideals, their own spiritual values and to all that is best in their own civilisation. You are certainly living through a period of doubts and cares, but I can assure you, better days lie ahead. We may tell you this, because we have in mind, together with others, to be the means which will create those better days. . . . Your country will see itself restored; with God's help we shall bring this about, and when the lights are shining once more over Europe, I believe that your Tivoli [a famous Copenhagen amusement park] will perhaps, more than anything else, be an example that will show the world how Denmark was able to keep her soul in spite of all her sufferings."

Mr. Butler's speech, on his late arrival at the luncheon, was as follows:

"I have confidence in Europe's future, as I have confidence in Denmark's future. That is why I want to go on associating you with the many problems which we all have to face together. I hope you realise that our feelings for you all are deep and sincere, and that I, in my time and in the work which I performed, have always been inspired by your country's example. As time passes, these sentiments will take on a more concrete form by reason of the example which, as I can see, will be given by Danes the world over."

To this it may be added that during a question time in the House Mr. Butler was even more positive. It was on the 8th May, 1940, when Mr. Mander asked the Prime Minister:

"... whether he will include as one of the objects of the Allies in the war that of securing the restoration of the freedom and independence of Denmark?"

To which Mr. Butler, as Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, said:

"Yes, sir."

Those two words, "*Ja, ja*," are in fact the sole official English Government declaration made in the House of Commons, and given in a positively binding form, which promised Denmark the restoration of her freedom after an English victory.

They were not very specific, but perhaps they said enough. For millions of Danes at home, at any rate, they meant comfort, when the Nazi-inspired disciples of the German "New Order" had made column-long speeches concerning Denmark's future in that wonderful age. "Yes, sir!" Those two words, in a thick volume of Hansard and many long official speeches, were the one firm hold, and so the one ray of light for all Danes in Denmark.

After this luncheon the Danish Council continued its activities: recruiting for the Buffs; founding a Danish House in London (a most valuable work); collecting to build a pavilion for Dr. Gillies Hospital; collecting for a fighter squadron—in an amazingly short time the sum of £38,300 was in hand. The Council publishes a Danish paper also, called *Frít Danmark*, which is extremely well edited by Hr. Blytgen-Petersen.

In the month of May a delegation sailed to America. Among others who went were the chairman of the business committee of the Council, Hr. Anker-Petersen, and the former naval attaché at the Legation, Commodore Captain Lembcke, who had given up his post at the Legation to devote himself entirely to the concerns of the free Danes.

One of this delegation's aims was to unite with similar organisations in America. "The National America-Denmark Association" held its first annual meeting on the 18th of April, 1941; this was one of the visible signs of Danish unity in America. Having been founded on the 4th of May, 1940, a short time after the invasion of Denmark, the twenty-seven different Danish-American societies therein represented resolved: that whatever form the task of restoring Denmark's freedom and independence might take, the first step was to organise all Danish-American bodies into a great movement, combining the 200,000 persons of Danish origin in America, "so that they may speak with one voice". It meant a great deal to Danes in the United States, as it meant, too, to those at home, that William S. Knudsen, President Roosevelt's right-hand man in the work of armaments production, became the association's Honorary President.

During the visit of the Danish delegation to America it was agreed to form a new society, to be known as "Free Denmark, Inc.", which will be in direct relations with the Danish Council in London. A visit was also paid to the Danes in Canada and in South America and everywhere there were discussions as to how best to arrange for the recruiting of volunteers and the establishment of Danish local Spitfire Funds.

From Danish colonies all over the world telegrams have come in, expressing the desire to associate in the tasks of the Council.

In the middle of a hard time, therefore, the Danish Council is faced with a pleasant duty and also with a responsibility, binding on it. A pleasant duty *to England*: because it will unite and co-ordinate in support of England's fight the forces scattered all over the world, and it will tell England of the help already given, and say that we will gladly give more if only we have the chance.

A pleasant duty *to Denmark* also: because the Council will bring hope and consolation, and give fresh courage to fellow-countrymen now under German domination. In 1864 the Danish Senate drew up an unforgettable farewell greeting to the people of Slesvig, after the Prussian army had despoiled and plundered our land, as it is now doing, and after the Danes had defended themselves with a bravery which we hope we shall never obscure with slackness and faint-heartedness. The Senate said to the men of Slesvig who had now to take upon them the German yoke:

"Ville I som vi, da blive vi, hvad ingen Magt kan hindre, uadskilte i Aanden, uopløselig forbundne ved Kaerlighed til fælles Nationalitet. Holder fast, Maend og Kvinder! med slesvigsk Udholdenhed ved vort danske Modersmaal, og lærer Eders Ungdom at elske og at pleje det! Der en levende Gud i Himlen, som bestemmer Time og Tid og sætter Grænsen for Voldsmagten paa Jorden!"¹

What dignity, what beauty and what pure Danish sentiment well from those proud words! May the Danes who are still free citizens in a free country encourage their fellows under the German yoke to hold fast and to hold out. Let them give the words of the Danish Senate in 1864 new force and new power by repeating them now, seventy-seven years later, to their compatriots who are to-day in distress.

No account of English speeches concerning Denmark after the invasion would be complete without a reference to the speech made by Mr. Attlee, the Lord Privy Seal and member of the English War Cabinet, on 15th July, 1941.

This speech was made at a dinner of a more private character in the Danish Club in London, at which Mr. Attlee, always a good friend of Denmark, was guest of honour.

"*I have not the slightest doubt that just as we shall prevent the Germans from coming over here, we shall free Denmark from German occupation.*"

¹*Translation of the Senate's Message.*

"If it is your will, as it is ours, then—no power can prevent it—we shall remain undivided in spirit, indissolubly united with the ties of affection in a common nationality. Hold fast, men and women of Slesvig, with your native doggedness to our Danish mother-tongue! Teach your little ones to love it and to use it well! There is a living God in Heaven, who determines the times and seasons and sets bounds to the power of tyrants on earth!"

Referring to the work of reconstruction after the war, Mr. Attlee said that great use would be made of the insight and the abilities of the Danes. What the Danes had succeeded in bringing about was nothing less than a civilised way of living. Denmark was indeed a country where few had too much, and fewer too little; and we must banish from the world not only the fear of war but also the fear of poverty.

There is a great sense of kinship among peoples who use the sea for their lawful occasions. The Germans have never comprehended the freedom and the brotherhood of the sea.

Mr. Attlee then concluded:

"We shall restore to Denmark the freedom which she has lost physically, but not spiritually", and as an example of the contribution made by Denmark and the Danes to the cause of freedom he cited the glorious deeds of the Danish seamen.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

GREENLAND, ICELAND, THE FAROE ISLANDS

IN THE summer before war broke out two Danish explorers -Ebbe Munck, an editor, and Count Eigil Knuth- had been carrying out some research work on the east coast of Greenland with a fairly large body of men. Part of the expedition's company spent the winter in Greenland, and it was intended to send a ship for them in the summer of 1940.

What chance was there to come to the relief of these men after the German occupation? There did not seem to be much; yet everything went easily; all difficulties simply melted away like dew in the sun. A ship was placed at the disposal of the relief party, and it was planned to sail to Greenland from a port on the west coast of Norway. It was found impossible on practical grounds to let the Danish heads of the expedition do the preparatory work, however; but two excellent men were engaged in their stead, and they undertook to get a crew together and to prepare the ship for her voyage.

On the Danish side it was not easy to follow the adventures of the expedition once it had sailed from Norway. If among the lads taken on to man the ship there were any who knew something about the activities of the Nazis in Denmark before the occupation, they may perhaps have been a bit startled when they were received in Oslo by a certain Carlis Hansen, and when they saw how impressively the Germans greeted this man in the Norwegian hotels when he turned up.

We came across Carlis Hansen earlier in this book, when he was working in Copenhagen as a German Nazi kidnapper, and had to flee the country. He returned from Germany with the army of occupation, and the first job he had to do for the Germans was to send off this Greenland expedition under the Danish flag.

All that was known in Denmark was that the ship arrived safe and sound on the east coast of Greenland, and that the expedition set up there certain meteorological stations which were to be of use to German ships. It is further known that an Allied warship steered in a few days later and took the expedition prisoner, destroying also the newly erected stations. If any one wishes to obtain a detailed account of this occurrence, he will doubtless be able to do so if he applies at the British prisons where the members of this expedition are now captives.

Of course this was not the only expedition that the Germans tried to land in Greenland, and German planes are known to have displayed a lively activity over Greenland in the summer months of 1940.

Such being the case, the American President resolved to act, and, luckily for Denmark, she had in Washington a Minister who was not afraid of acting independently. On the 9th of April, 1941, the anniversary of the German occupation of Denmark, the Danish Minister, Hr. Kauffmann, concluded an agreement with Mr. Cordell Hull, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the United States, whereby the United States took Greenland temporarily under its protection.

The agreement includes the following ten paragraphs:

"1. The U.S.A. undertakes to be of assistance to Greenland in maintaining its present course.

2. The U.S.A. acquires the right to set up and to use landing-places, sea-plane facilities, radio and meteorological stations.

3. The U.S.A. obtains permission to deepen harbours, build roads and set up communication services.

4. Landing-places, etc., will stand in readiness for acroplanes and harbours for ships from all American nations.

5. The U.S.A. has the right to lease land and water areas for defence facilities.

6. Danish sovereignty over the defence areas before mentioned is recognised, but the U.S.A. will maintain jurisdiction over the domain while the present abnormal situation lasts.

7. The U.S.A. has the right to open a post office for the American personnel.

8. Stores, materials, etc., belonging to the U.S.A. are freed from duty.

9. The U.S.A. promises to respect Greenland's laws and customs, both as regards native population and internal administration.

10. The agreement will be in force until the present dangers to the peace and security of the American continent have been dispelled."

The full text of the pact is to be seen in an appendix which follows this chapter.

In the preamble to the agreement Denmark's sovereignty over Greenland is categorically recognised. Seeing that Denmark cannot,

for the moment, exercise this sovereignty, Hr. Kauffmann, with the knowledge of the American Foreign Minister, first reported to Denmark the wording of the agreement when it had been published in America.

In his telegram to Denmark Hr. Kauffmann explained that he had signed the agreement on behalf of the Danish King, and in order to make clear his own action in the matter, he stated that it was in the best interests of Denmark and of Greenland, as well as being in conformity with his own conscience and his loyalty to the King.

The Minister emphasised that any interference or meddling with the position of Greenland, so long as Denmark was under German occupation, would be regarded by America as a gross breach of the Monroe Doctrine, and would not for a moment be tolerated. The United States felt its responsibility for the defence of the whole Western Hemisphere, and President Roosevelt's decision to take Greenland under America's protection during the present circumstances was based on the agreement reached at the Pan-American Conference in Havana on 1st July, 1940. The twenty-one American republics had then in fact passed a resolution which debarred Greenland's ever falling into the Germans' hands whatever happened during the present war.

According to the Havana Agreement, the twenty-one American republics would not tolerate the transfer of European colonies on the Western Hemisphere, no matter what form such transfer might take. American experts in international law had, prior to the Havana Conference, given clear expression to the interpretation that Greenland belonged to the Western Hemisphere.

The Havana resolution was followed by a declaration by the Deputy-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Sumner Wells, who said at a Press conference in Washington that the setting up of a Government under compulsion in a European country having possessions in the Western Hemisphere—including, of course, Denmark—might induce America to assume jurisdiction over those possessions.

In consequence of that statement, America could prevent Greenland from coming either directly or indirectly under German control. The various German or German-camouflaged expeditions to Greenland—the last, a reconnaissance flight by German bombers on the 27th March—made it abundantly clear that Germany had aggressive intentions in regard to that country.

Although the United States still recognised Denmark's sovereignty over Greenland, as is evident from the wording of the agreement, the Washington Government could assert, by virtue of the Monroe Doctrine, that in the present situation the Danish sovereignty could not be exercised by the Danish Government in Copenhagen, just as it would be impracticable, on military grounds, to present the agreement in Copenhagen.

Such were the circumstances which induced Hr. Kauffmann to sign, on his own initiative, the agreement on behalf of Denmark;

he had, moreover, the backing of the two Danish-born Greenland sheriffs. All this he reported to the Government in Copenhagen in a telegram dated 10th April.

The indignation in German circles in Copenhagen was unbounded. Previous to this—in June 1940—the Americans had refused to give landing facilities to a Danish official delegation which the Government in Copenhagen dispatched to America on the instructions of the Germans. This delegation did not get farther than northern Italy, where it was to have embarked on an American ship headed by Hr. Oldendow, in charge of Greenland's administration. It was then recalled.

The Danish Government were openly accused of having been the accomplices of Hr. Kauffmann. It was unthinkable, said the Germans, that the Danish Minister in Washington could have presumed to take such a step without first having obtained his Government's sanction; and the Government thereupon proceeded to take some unusual measures in order to clear itself of this accusation.

The German circles were thrown into such a state of confusion by the American action that it took them three days to think it over. Although, thanks to the English and Swedish radio, the news had been known on the very day of the publication of the agreement in Washington, the Danish public were not allowed to have official knowledge of the agreement before the 13th April, when the Foreign Minister broadcast his account of it, and compelled the Danish papers to write leading articles condemning the step taken by the Minister, Hr. Kauffmann.

The Foreign Minister intimated at the same time that Hr. Kauffmann had been immediately recalled. As Hr. Kauffmann quite calmly ignored his recall, he was dismissed, and a statement was made that he would be made the subject of criminal law investigation, not only on account of his neglect of his official duties, but also for his crime against the security of the State: in a word, he would be tried for treason.

On Wednesday, the 16th April, the Danish Kalundborg wireless station broadcast the following announcement from the Foreign Minister Scavenius:

"The Minister Henrik Kauffmann was recalled, by Royal Decree of the 12th instant, from his post as Danish Minister in Washington, and by telegram of the same date the Foreign Minister instructed him to proceed to Copenhagen and transfer the direction of the legation to the *Chargé d'Affaires*, Hr. Blechingberg. In reply Hr. Kauffmann telegraphed on the 14th instant, saying that he had informed the American Foreign Minister on the 13th instant that he is ignoring his recall, and intends to remain in Washington; also that the American Foreign Minister had informed him in a reply note that he will in future be recognised as the duly authorised Danish Minister.

"By conducting negotiations about Greenland's defences on his own initiative and without the knowledge of His Majesty the King,

Hr. Kauffmann has not only abused the King's name, but also brought serious difficulties upon Denmark. It may well be also that, after what has happened, Greenland will in certain circumstances become the starting-place for war operations, and Hr. Kauffmann has by his conduct rendered himself guilty not only of gross neglect of his official duties, but of conspiring against the safety of the State.

"By Royal Decree of to-day's date Hr. Kauffmann is dismissed from the Foreign Service in conformity with the Civil Service Code, and penal investigations will be instituted against him."

Then followed a list of the paragraphs applicable to the case of Hr. Kauffmann.

The Foreign Minister Scavenius was, moreover, personally so enraged at the behaviour of Hr. Kauffmann that he asked the Minister of Justice in all seriousness to have an order of arrest issued immediately against the Danish Minister in Washington, but as the Minister of Justice did not think that he was in a position to execute this arrest, the matter was dropped!

That the affair affected Hr. Scavenius to such an extent was in no small measure due to the fact that he had always been keenly interested in the career of Hr. Kauffmann. I have frequently heard Hr. Scavenius assert that Kauffmann was the best head—yes, in fact, the only good head—in the whole of the Foreign Service, and he had done a great deal himself to procure speedy advancement for him.

Now, there never could have been the least doubt as to Hr. Kauffmann's attitude after the German occupation of Denmark. He began at once in April 1940 to work independently for the liberation of his country. In a letter to the Danish ship captains in America, in which he urged them to accept the Allies' offer, he wrote:

"Your decision will be taken as an expression of how free Danes outside German jurisdiction are thinking and feeling, and it will thus have a direct significance for our fatherland and its future. The circumstances being what they were, the Danish Government and people had to content themselves with making a formal protest against the German occupation. The Danes had no chance to fight for their own cause and, with heroic and dramatic actions like those of the Finns and the Norwegians, to imprint upon the public conscience of the world the wrong that had been done to their land. However unjustified it may be, there is unfortunately a risk that many people all over the world, not familiar with local circumstances, may have the impression that the Danes are not specially dissatisfied with their lot under German and Nazi domination, and that the view may be spreading that sympathy for Denmark and the sacrifice of human life and property for her liberation may be wasted.

"It is up to those away from Denmark—those who can still talk and act freely—to show to-day by word and deed that this

view is false, and that the Danes also are ready to do their bit for the liberation of their country."

When Hr. Kauffmann was recalled by the Danish Government, with special injunction to inform President Roosevelt that he had to return home immediately, he informed Mr. Cordell Hull, the Foreign Minister, that in May 1940, after Denmark had been occupied by the Nazis, he had issued a public declaration stating that he could only work for Denmark's freedom, and that his work would have been impossible but for the understanding and co-operation of the American Government.

In present circumstances his behaviour would be dictated by the same conviction, and Hr. Kauffmann was emphatically of the opinion that the Danish Government's action had been taken under German pressure.

Hr. Kauffmann concluded his interview with Mr. Hull by saying: "The sincere hope for a speedy liberation of Denmark, which President Roosevelt expressed when the agreement about the defence of Greenland was published three days ago, will have been an encouragement to all Danes. May I request you to give the President the thanks of my fellow-countrymen?"

Mr. Cordell Hull said in reply that it must be regarded as a fact that the Danish Government had acted under pressure, and that he had to inform Hr. Kauffmann that the American Government would continue to recognise him as Denmark's Minister in Washington. The American Government's spokesman concluded with a hope for the speedy liberation of Denmark.

The reaction of the Danish population to the whole Kauffmann business was sound and natural. Ninety per cent. of the people fully and frankly approved of the Minister's conduct, and at a stroke he became the most popular man in the country. The feeling was that, for once, Denmark had accomplished something that mattered, something of positive value for the Allied cause, and there was even a faint hope that there might presently be a chance to form a Government with Hr. Kauffmann as the member who would look after the interests of free Danes who were beyond the reach of the Copenhagen Government.

The attitude of the Danish Press gave rise to great anger among the Germans. Beyond the first condemnatory leading article, which the papers had published in accordance with German instructions—and which had been feeble and cautious in the extreme—there had been no further comment at all. In vain did the German Press Attaché attempt to work up indignation and appeal to injured national sentiment. It would have been too fantastic if the papers which had had to keep quiet over the German occupation of Denmark should now have arisen in wrath because America had secured her life's interests against an attack by those same Germans. It was felt that the big colony was in safe keeping, and there was complete confidence in the American promise that it would be given back to

Denmark as soon as the Germans were out of the country. Although the papers were not allowed to mention it, it soon became generally known that President Roosevelt had further backed that promise by sending King Christian a private telegram which also expressed regret that it had been necessary to take action of this sort in regard to Greenland because of the menace of German aggression.

Greenland was in the news again a few months after America had taken it over, when the Norwegian Nazi leader—Vidkun Quisling—said in a speech in September 1941 that it was the aim of the Norwegian Nazis to create a Greater Norway which would include Greenland, Iceland and the Faroes. When this speech was later reported in full in the Danish newspapers, the part relating to Greenland was carefully omitted. The Danish population must not know about the Norwegian Nazis' dreams of power; and—after all—"Swastika does not fight against swastika".

All the same, it reminded the Danes—if indeed they needed to be reminded—of the rôle which was allotted to Denmark under a victorious Greater Germany, and once again they congratulated themselves on the American occupation of Greenland.

One of the results of the German invasion of Denmark was that the tie uniting Iceland and Denmark was broken—possibly for ever. Until 1918 Iceland had belonged to Denmark, but an agreement was arrived at that year, whereby Iceland became an independent State, joined to Denmark only in a personal union under the Danish King. In matters of foreign policy, however, Denmark still represented Iceland.

The pact was to run for twenty-five years—that is, until 1943. It is quite possible that when the time arrived there would be a general agreement between the two countries to go their separate ways, and the personal union would likewise have ceased; but now the complete rupture of relations between the two brought about their separation two years before it was actually due.

At the meeting of the Icelandic Alting on 23rd May, 1941, a proposal was submitted not to prolong the Treaty of Union with Denmark, seeing that it is expressly laid down that this Treaty cannot in any case be denounced before the end of the war, and that *then* it is proposed to introduce a republican constitution.

Three motions came up for discussion:

1. Iceland declares herself to be independent (motion approved by 41 votes to 0).
2. The Treaty of Union now in force shall not be prolonged (approved by 38 to 3 votes).
3. As the King of Iceland is at the moment unable to exercise his authority, a President shall be elected (approved by 44 votes to 0).

The Alting's members number forty-nine.

Afterwards the Chargé d'Affaires of Iceland in Copenhagen informed the Danish Government that the Alting had unanimously approved of the following items:

1. To intimate that Iceland has earned the right to break off her union with Denmark, seeing that Denmark has not been able to attend to Icelandic affairs, as she agreed to do in conformity with the Treaty of Union, also that the said Treaty shall not be renewed. Even should it not be regarded as right that the union should be dissolved, such a step could not have been postponed beyond the end of the war in any case.
2. To proclaim the aim of Iceland—to become a republic as soon as her union with Denmark can be dissolved.

On the Danish side, the Prime Minister, Hr. Stauning, said that present circumstances had led to the Icelandic people's denouncing the Treaty of Union in the manner they had done; that, perhaps, was why the effect was so much more dramatic than would have been the case in more normal times. Then he proceeded:

"Surprising we can scarcely call it, seeing that for several years we have been aware that this treaty might be denounced—and that is just what has happened."

Yet it was not "circumstances" alone—German occupation of Denmark—which rendered the separation so dramatic. On the Icelandic side it had been made perfectly clear that it was not the fact of Denmark's no longer being able to fulfil her side of the agreement which induced Iceland to take the unusual step. It was rather Iceland's fear lest their Saga island should fall into the hands of the Germans that dictated immediate action.

In a charming radio talk to the people of Denmark, the editor, Hr. Olafur Fridriksson, explained the Icelandic point of view, as follows:

"If war had not come, what has happened now would certainly have happened in 1943 (when the Treaty of Union expired) with the full consent of the Danish people.

"Things turned out differently, however. The Germans, who had concluded a friendship pact with the Danes, suddenly took them by surprise; for, while with one hand they pressed the Dane's, with the other they drove a knife into his back. The Danes were therefore quite incapable of carrying out their coastal patrol duties off Iceland, and equally incapable of attending to matters of Icelandic foreign policy. The supreme head of the State could not sign the laws of the Alting.

"Then the Alting itself assumed the authority which had formerly belonged to the King; *but it was the Alting's opinion, nevertheless, that the matter should be allowed to rest until such time as the war was over and we could, by peaceful negotiations with the Danes, obtain complete separation . . .* everybody in Iceland knew that the freedom-loving Danes would consent to this, as soon as they knew that it was the real wish of the people of Iceland.

"Meanwhile the continued advance of the Germans altered the situation. The war might be long drawn out and Denmark's liberation long delayed. *In that case it was greatly to be feared that the Germans would lay claim to Iceland, seeing that they already had Denmark in their power.* It therefore became urgently necessary for the safety of the Icelandic people to take this step as the initial stage in the separation from Denmark—although to many a Dane in the present situation it may seem as if we Icelanders were taking advantage of his country's momentary weakness.

"But only compelling necessity has induced us now on our own initiative—and against the wishes of the two friendly Great Powers, England and the U.S.A.—to take this step.

"We have been far from wishing to hurt the Danish people; and still less would we wish to hurt their supreme ruler, whose true greatness in the present difficult situation all can now see better than ever."

The Danish people did not misunderstand Iceland's action. They had themselves seen enough of German methods to know that the moment Germany felt strong enough, she would attempt to seize Iceland as an operational base against England, and then all talk of the island kingdom's future would be just as idle as such talk had been in the case of other occupied European countries.

It was good to know from Iceland herself that the step she had taken was dictated solely by her own interests, and that, into the bargain, it had been taken against the wishes of England and America—the two countries which had now occupied Iceland. It was satisfactory to know that neither of the big Powers had wished the personal union with Denmark dissolved.

Soon afterwards Mr. Sveinn Björnsson was elected regent of Iceland and about the same time a couple of Icelandic Nazis, living in Denmark, started off, under German auspices, on a trip round Europe in order to collect Icelanders willing to fight for Iceland's freedom!

On the 10th of May, 1940, one month after the German occupation of Denmark, the British navy landed forces in Iceland, to take it under British protection. In July 1941 America took over the protection of Iceland from Britain, having first co-operated with the latter there.

As background for America's step, the Washington correspondent of *The Times* announced, on 8th July, that there had been word of significant troop concentrations in Norway: the affair of the battleship *Bismarck* gave cause for suspicion; and recently it was noted that German broadcasts in the Icelandic tongue had for the first time been elaborating on the common "Nordic" origin of the two countries and promising that Germany would act as "protector". The belief grew that the German "pincers" movement was in contemplation and would involve German action from Iceland and Dakar.

For this reason America now took Iceland under her protection, and this was done with the full consent of the Alting, as may be seen from a telegram which the new Icelandic regent sent to President Roosevelt on the 10th of July:

"The legislative assembly of Iceland, the Alting, has now given assent to the agreement, regarding the defence of Iceland by the United States, which was made public in your announcement, Mr. President, to Congress on 7th July and in an address delivered on the same day by the Prime Minister of Iceland to the Icelandic people. The agreement was to-day ratified by the Icelandic Regent in Council and has therefore now been dealt with according to our constitution in order to be fully valid.

"On this occasion I have the honour, Mr. President, to send you my personal compliments. To-day we remember that the first white man to set foot on the soil of America was an Icelandic, Leifr Eriksson. We also remember that many people of Icelandic descent are now good citizens of the United States. Last, but not least, we recall that the great nation of the United States has always held high the flag of liberty and democracy, which we nations of Scandinavian origin, history, language and culture respect so greatly and which has been so strongly emphasised in Scandinavian co-operation, although this co-operation has now unfortunately ceased for the time being. At the same time it is our sincere hope and wish that closer co-operation, now beginning, between Iceland and the United States, may be blessed with good fortune. I sent to you, Mr. President, and to your people, my own wishes and those of the Icelandic people for prosperity and happiness in the future.

SVEINN BJÖRNSSON."

When the American troops took over the protection of Iceland, the Icelandic paper *Vísir* sent the British troops the following parting message:

"All the time the British garrison has been here, their whole deportment has been so gentlemanly that little inconvenience has been caused. It may be called wonderful that good discipline has been maintained within the army, and it can be asserted that the Icelandic people are grateful for the fine behaviour towards everything. It is to be hoped that relations with the new garrison will be as much in accordance with our wishes, as have our first experiences with the British."

One wonders whether any Danish paper will be able to write like that on the day the Germans leave Denmark—and whether King Christian will be able to send such a telegram to Hitler as Sveinn Björnsson sent to Mr. Roosevelt!

On the Faroes British troops still maintain protection.

APPENDIX

Complete Text of the Greenland Agreement.

WHEREAS:

1. Foreign military forces having penetrated into and taken possession of Denmark on the 9th of April, 1940, the Council of Greenland which assembled at Godhavn on the 3rd of May, 1940, passed a resolution on behalf of the people of Greenland, solemnly repeating their pledges of loyalty to King Christian X of Denmark, and expressing the hope that the Government of the United States of America would, so long as Greenland is separated from the mother-country, continuously bear in mind the exposed position in which the Danish flag in Greenland, the Greenland and Danish population in Greenland and the form of legislature therein established now find themselves;

2. All Governments of the American Republic have been unanimous in declaring that the status of territories belonging to European Powers and situated in the Western Hemisphere is a question of serious consequence to the American nations, and that the development of military events in Europe, together with the alterations following upon the same, may well bring about the serious risk that European territorial possessions in America may become strategic bases for aggression against the nations of the American continent;

3. The defence of Greenland against aggression on the part of non-American Powers is of decisive importance for the preservation of the peace and security of the American continent, and is a matter of vital consequence both for the Kingdom of Denmark and for the United States of America;

4. Notwithstanding the fact that Denmark's sovereignty over Greenland is fully recognised, the present circumstances prevent the Government in Denmark from exercising its authority for the time being;

WHEREFOR:

The under-signed Henrik Kauffmann, Minister Extraordinary of His Majesty the King of Denmark and Minister Plenipotentiary in Washington, acting on behalf of His Majesty the King of Denmark in his quality as sovereign of Greenland, and with the understanding of the authorities in Greenland, and Cordell Hull, States Secretary of the United States of America, acting for the Government of the said United States, have agreed as follows:

Article I

The Government of the United States of America herewith confirms that it recognises and respects the sovereignty of the Kingdom of Denmark over Greenland. Seeing that, as a result of the present European war, there is a risk of Greenland's being converted into a

base for attack against the nations of the American continent, and bearing in mind the pledges incumbent upon the Government of the United States of America in conformity with 'The Act of Havana', signed on 30th July, 1930, the Government of the United States of America assumes the responsibility of lending its assistance for the maintenance of the present status.

Article II

It was agreed that the Government of the United States shall have the right to lay out, maintain and operate such landing-places, sea-plane bases, radio-stations and meteorological installations, as may be necessary for the accomplishment of the task mentioned in Article I.

Article III

The rights conceded under Articles I and II shall likewise include the right to improve and deepen harbours and anchorage places and the approaches to the same; to install navigation facilities for sailing and flying, and to build roads, fortifications, workshops and depots, dwellings for personnel, and in a general way the right to make whatever arrangements are necessary for the guaranteeing of an effective management, maintenance and protection of such defence works as may be established.

Article IV

The landing-places, sea-plane bases, harbours and other defence works which the Government of the United States may have to lay out and operate, as mentioned in Articles II and III, will, for purposes relating to the joint defence of the Western Hemisphere, be placed at the disposal of all aeroplanes and ships belonging to the American nations.

Article V

It was agreed that the Government of the United States will, for the period during which the present agreement is in force, have the right to lease such land and sea areas as may be necessary for the lay-out, managing and protecting of the defence works enumerated in Articles II and III. In choosing the site of the before-mentioned defence areas, the widest possible regard shall be taken, in conjunction with military necessities, for the welfare, health and economic interests of Greenland's native population. It was, however, agreed that, seeing the chief purpose to be attained is the speedy creation of the most extensive defence works in Greenland, the utilisation of any special district which the Government of the United States of America consider necessary for this purpose, shall not be postponed until complete agreement has been arrived at regarding the necessary terms of the lease. A description of the exact boundaries of the area in question, together with a declaration of the purpose for which it is necessary, shall in each separate case

be sent, as soon as possible, to the Danish authorities in Greenland, and negotiations concerning a formal lease will take place within a reasonable time thereafter.

Article VI

The Kingdom of Denmark retains its sovereignty over the defence areas mentioned in the preceding Articles. So long as this agreement remains in force the Government of the United States shall have exclusive jurisdiction over any such defence area in Greenland, over the United States' military and civil personnel and their families, as well as over all other persons within such areas, with the exception of Danish citizens and native-born Greenland people, since it is of course understood that the Government of the United States may hand over any person committing an offence within a defence area to the Danish authorities in Greenland for trial and punishment, in so far as the Government of the United States decides not to exercise jurisdiction in the case in question. The Danish authorities in Greenland will take the proper measures to secure trial and punishment in the event of sentence being passed, of all Danish citizens, natives of Greenland and other persons who may be handed over to them by the United States Government authorities for misdemeanours committed within the said defence areas.

Article VII

It was agreed that the Government of the United States shall have the right to establish and maintain postal services and service stores for the exclusive use of the American military and civil personnel and their families, resident in Greenland in connexion with the Greenland defence works. Should the Danish authorities in Greenland desire it, arrangements will be made to permit of persons, other than those before mentioned, purchasing necessary articles in the service stores which may be opened.

Article VIII.

All material, stores and equipment for the lay-out, utilisation and management of defence works and for the personal requirements of the United States military and civil personnel and their families shall be allowed to enter Greenland free of customs dues, excise or other charges, and the said personnel and their families shall likewise be exempt from any form of tax, assessment or other levy enforced by the Danish authorities in Greenland.

Article IX

The United States Government will respect all legitimate interests in Greenland, as well as all laws, regulations and customs in regard to the native population and the administration in Greenland. In exercising the rights which originate in this agreement the United States Government will give benevolent consideration to

any proposal which the Danish authorities in Greenland might put forward in connexion with the welfare of the residents of Greenland.

Article X

The present agreement shall remain in force until both sides agree that the present dangers for the peace and security of the American continent have passed. Until that time any alteration or lapse will be the subject of a conference between the Government of Denmark and the Government of the United States. Once the relative conference has taken place, each of the parties shall have the right to communicate to the other his intention to terminate the agreement, which, it is hereby established, shall cease to be in force at the end of twelve months after the intimation in question has been received by one of the parties from the other.

Washington, 9th April, 1941.

CORDELL HULL.

HENRIK KAUFFMANN.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

A POLICY THAT FAILED—AND ITS LESSON

IN a radio talk on the 20th January, 1940, Mr. Churchill said:

"Look at the group of small but ancient and historic States which lie in the North; or look again at that other group of anxious peoples in the Balkans or in the Danube Basin behind whom stands the resolute Turk. Every one of them is wondering which will be the next victim or when the criminal adventurers of Berlin will cast their rending stroke. . . . But what would happen if all these neutral nations were with one spontaneous impulse to do their duty in accordance with the Covenant of the League, and were to stand together with the British and French empires against aggression and wrong? At present their plight is lamentable; and it will become much worse. They bow humbly and in fear to German threats of violence, comforting themselves meanwhile with the thought that the Allies will win, that Britain and France will strictly observe all the laws and conventions, and that breaches of these laws are only to be expected from the German side. Each one hopes that if he feeds the crocodile enough, the crocodile will eat him last. All of them hope that the storm will pass before their turn comes to be devoured. But I fear—I fear greatly—the storm will not pass. It will rage and it will roar, ever more loudly, ever more widely. It will spread to the South; it will spread to the North."

And in March of the same year, in another radio talk, Mr. Churchill said:

"People often ask me, will the war be long or short? It might

have been a very short war—perhaps, indeed, there might have been no war—if all the neutral States who share our convictions upon fundamental matters, and who openly or secretly sympathise with us, had stood together at one signal and in one line.”

Those were words which undoubtedly spoke to both heart and head of the majority of Danes, as well as the majority of other small nations who understood and applauded Mr. Churchill's argument.

But it was too late. There was no political security to be found for small nations who considered the attitude of the whole of France. That country seemed to be paralysed with a fear of both Communism and Nazism. One felt uncertainty in France's words and France's whole policy. The Munich Agreement was purchased at the cost of another small, independent nation, which had relied on its pact with France; and Czecho-Slovakia had been much more strongly and amply equipped, and in a military sense much better prepared than any of the nations to which the Allied appeal is now directed.

Confidence in the League of Nations had long since given way. When sanctions against Italy after the invasion of Abyssinia had to be set aside, it became clear—as had long been suspected—that it was impracticable to mobilise the concerted action of all nations against one aggressor. The small nations, many of which had moreover reaped endless benefits from the Versailles Treaty—in the north, both Finland and Denmark—had enthusiastically associated themselves with the League of Nations ideas, and might well, at the beginning, have been willing to hold an army in readiness, if the Great Powers had given the lead and thrown their own forces into the breach. But such was not the case, as was abundantly clear in Asia, Africa and even Europe. The League of Nations contented itself with setting bounds to the conflicts which arose; it did not stop them, nor did it punish the aggressors.

For this reason Denmark—and the other small nations which no longer felt confidence in the policy of the League of Nations—attempted to cut down the engagements they had assumed by becoming members in Geneva. . . . On the 1st of July, 1936, the seven European countries which had been neutral during the last war, at a meeting of Foreign Ministers in Geneva, made public a declaration that, “as it had now become evident that the League of Nations was unable or unwilling to maintain a consistent system of action against all cases of aggression or violation of State rights, they could not regard themselves as obliged to participate in such actions except by their own decision in each case. . . .”

In September of the same year this agreement was repeated at the League of Nations Assembly by representatives of each of the seven States.

On the 27th July, 1938, at a meeting in Copenhagen, the Foreign Ministers of the so-called Oslo States (Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg) approved of a resolution which actually made clear that the seven countries

would maintain strict neutrality in all wars which they did not consider as actions undertaken on the part of the League of Nations.

It was explicitly recognised by most members of the League of Nations at the Assembly later that year, that the coercive measures provided for in Article 16 of the Covenant were regarded as optional. And their application was not even demanded when Germany committed acts of aggression in 1939.

Finally, at a meeting in Oslo, and just at the time when Hitler's army was ready to march into Poland—the 30th and 31st August, 1939—the Foreign Ministers of the Scandinavian States renewed their declarations to observe strict neutrality in a coming conflict. They had barely time to get home before war broke out.

So the small "ex-neutral States", as they were called in Geneva, had repeatedly and clearly announced to the Great Powers that their policy now, as in the last war, was neutrality.

That was not saying where their sympathies lay; for it was surely true of all countries, as it was, at any rate, of Denmark, that sympathy was exclusively with the Allied side—the ideals of the Western Powers were so absolutely also those of the small nations.

What chance had Denmark to keep neutral? She had managed it in the last war. Would she manage it this time?

What is neutrality? This: To swerve widely from the middle-of-the-road policy of complete impartiality, now in favour of one side, now in favour of the other—but never letting yourself go far enough to cause the opposing side to consider his interests menaced, so that you will inevitably be dragged into the war too.

During the last war, Scavenius, who was then Foreign Minister also, succeeded, by the exercise of great ingenuity and dexterity in keeping Denmark out—and even then he would not have done so had England not been so long-suffering. Mines were laid in Danish waters at the request of Germany, who wanted to keep the British fleet away from the Baltic, but England acquiesced in it.

Erik Scavenius, who was of course not Foreign Minister at the beginning of this war, did not judge the situation so optimistically now: difficulties were greater, and Germany even more brutal and inconsiderate than in the last war.

The danger for Denmark was partly in her economic, partly in her strategic situation.

As previously stated, Denmark's two chief customers were England and Germany; between them they took 73 per cent. of her total exports: England bought butter, bacon and eggs in the sum of 825 million kroner per annum; Germany cattle and cattle-products in the sum of 300 million. In normal conditions Danish agriculture could feed, in addition to the inhabitants of the country, 12 million men. This was a fact of the utmost importance for Germany.

But the condition on which Denmark could feed such a great number of people was that she should always be in a position to

import fodder and artificial manures, running into a total value of 160 million kroner per annum. And all these commodities came from the west. That Denmark would ever be attacked by England for the sake of her provisions was quite out of the question. Apart from the fact that England does not unscrupulously fling honour to the winds when she is at war, she was able to obtain her supplies elsewhere.

It was a different story with Germany. In the event of a short war she might be tempted to make sure of a well-filled larder without giving a thought to future supplies. If, on the other hand, a long war was to be expected, it would be madness to destroy a good source of supply; moreover, there might arise the dangerous situation in which she would have no means—either in cash or in commodities—to pay for the imports. Then, of course, the only way out was by force and violence.

From the strategic point of view Denmark's position was more precarious than in the last war. Her geographical situation makes her the key to the Baltic, but that was not where the danger lay; for whereas in the last war England and Russia were allies from the beginning, and England's interest in the maintenance of sea communication with Leningrad great, this time—leaving out of account the fact that she had managed to make an alliance with Russia—England had actually written off any command of the Baltic, by the Anglo-German naval agreement. It was therefore quite within the range of possibility that Germany might want to push her first line of defence at sea further forward, by taking possession of the Danish Sound and the Belts.

More fraught with risk, however, was the circumstance that Denmark would be excellently adapted for air bases. Its flat land would be equally attractive to both belligerents. Germany—apart from the occupation of the Channel Ports—would have only a short distance to fly from Jutland to East England and London; and England, with her air-arm, could easily approach Berlin and industrial North-west Germany, with its important towns, from Slesvig and the Danish islands.

All the same, there was little fear of England occupying Denmark. It would be a tremendous effort to land sufficient troops to withstand a German counter-move, and that such a move would take place at once was a certainty.

English air bases in Denmark would be catastrophic for Germany, and their acquisition would have to be prevented at any price, and Germany's road to military action against Denmark was considerably shorter than the English lines of communication.

The conclusion of these considerations as to the possibility of Denmark maintaining her neutrality during a second war between England and Germany must therefore be that the chances of an English breach of neutrality were vanishing, but that, for both economic and strategic reasons, a German assault must be feared.

How was Denmark prepared to meet the difficulties of a coming war?

She might have chosen to make herself as strong as possible, so that an attack would be no easy matter; but she chose to make herself weak. If resistance was useless, why sacrifice herself needlessly?

Supposing she had wanted to make herself strong, it could only have been done through alliances: an alliance with one or other of the two big Powers, Germany and the Allies. But that would have meant giving up the policy of neutrality and the dragging of Denmark into the war at any moment.

There would never have been any strong support in Denmark for an alliance with Germany—indeed, considering Denmark's opinion of Nazism, such an alliance would have been unthinkable. But an alliance with the Allies was a questionable matter also, in view of their armaments policy of the last decade. Long before England or France could have come to the aid of their Danish Ally, she would have been swallowed up by Germany.

Another possibility was an alliance between the Scandinavian countries. This has frequently been talked of in the years before the war, but significantly enough—always more in countries abroad than in the Scandinavian countries themselves. Foreign countries looked on Scandinavia as a strategic, political and economic unity. But apart from some political trends, common to all of them, there was no such unity.

Economically the Scandinavian countries compete on the world market, and inter-Scandinavian trade is not of any great importance. It is true that at one of the Scandinavian Foreign Ministers' meetings before the war an agreement was concluded for an extension of the economic co-operation, in the event of war separating the North from the world market, but it was only necessity that could force upon these countries such an artificial co-operation.

Viewed strategically, the North had two potential enemies: Russia threatened Finland from the east, and Germany threatened Denmark from the south. There was thus no sign of strategic unity or common foe. Denmark could not adjust her military system with an eye to the possibility that she would have to send troops to Finland's eastern frontier; and it would be equally difficult for Finland to send troops to the Danish-German frontier. As far back as 1864 Denmark had learned that the unity of the North ceased to exist the moment the question of military assistance came up. Apart from the fact that a considerable number of enthusiastic volunteers enlisted—with Denmark in 1864; with Finland in 1939—the idea of a "Nordic" defence alliance in present circumstances must be considered absurd.

In a clumsy and in many ways tactless and unnecessarily hurtful speech, which provoked much criticism at the time, the Prime Minister, Hr. Stauning, aired his views, in Lund, on 8th March, 1937, on the subject of the much-discussed Nordic Defence Alliance.

"I should not even venture to engage in a serious debate on that mental experiment," he said, "nor do I think the pursuance of such a scheme to be compatible with our continued membership of the League of Nations. The Nordic Defensive Alliance is, in my eyes, no more than a phantom. To deal with the idea seriously would be tantamount to creating a new danger zone, and arousing suspicions which do not exist now.

"Did Denmark ever undertake to act as a watch-dog for the North? I never heard of anything like that. History has taught us that in 1864 opinion in general assumed that Swedish troops would come to our rescue. Of course they did not come, and now there are not many people left in Denmark who would indulge in such fancies again."

The Liberal and Conservative Parties, through their respective leaders, characterised this speech of Hr. Stauning's as:

"A speech as unwise as it was undignified, as un-Danish as it was un-Nordic."

The Germans, on the contrary, received it with unconcealed glee. The *Berliner Borsen-Zeitung* wrote:

"As a next-door neighbour to the Reich, Denmark will take special care not to be exploited by Geneva and other collectivists. That is why Dr. Munch refused any partnership in a Nordic Defensive Alliance, a rôle that would have been materially superfluous and, moreover, hardly compatible with good relations with Germany."

So Denmark had chosen to fight shy of all alliances: she would rely upon the right of small nations to be themselves. And the majority in the Danish Parliament thought it useless to sacrifice a lot of money for a defence which could only be symbolic. The present defence regulations in Denmark date from 1932, only technically revised in 1937. But shortly before the outbreak of war there were the beginnings of a reaction against the scaling down of armaments—or, as one might indeed say, disarmament.

Among the political parties it was only the Conservatives who sponsored a policy of actual rearmament. Whether there was a possibility of good results or not, this party was anxious that Denmark should try to defend herself in case of attack. The nation's honour demanded it. The big agricultural party, the Liberals, somewhat hesitatingly followed the lead of the Conservatives. The will to defence was strong enough among them, but considerations of outlay played an even bigger part with this party, which had more of a money-sense than the other.

In favour of a cutting down of armaments or of total disarmament were the Social Democrats and the Radicals, the two parties which had had such a long, uninterrupted run of government power. The Radical Party was the smallest, but in all questions of foreign policy and of military power its word was law. The general trend of this party was purely pacifist, and recent happenings before the war—

like the fall of Czecho-Slovakia—had only confirmed the party in its disarmament policy. If a country relatively so strongly armed as Czecho-Slovakia could fall without striking a blow, what hope was there for Denmark, with the puny military force she could muster?

The fall of Austria and of Czecho-Slovakia had, however, the opposite effect on the other Government party—the Social Democrats, and especially its younger members. They realised the danger, to all small European States, of Nazism, and they were now willing to make sacrifices in order to defend the independence of Denmark. This development came too late, more's the pity! but it may have a definite significance for Denmark after the war.

Certainly the Social Democrats do not condemn their own former anti-militarist attitude, but they are willing to concede that the Conservative standpoint—that only those States which attempted to defend their freedom will have a chance of seeing their independence restored after the war—has something to be said for it.

Another of their theories was that an effective military force would have this consequence: Denmark would at least be permitted to choose her own opponent if it turned out that neutrality was impossible. If they showed resistance, there would at any rate be the chance of being recognised as allies by the States which had been fighting tyranny. Sad to think that those theories came to the Social Democrats too late to be able to bear fruit.

Denmark's military position at the outbreak of war was such, then, that one of the country's most prominent writers on military policy, General Tuxen, could say of it in a Conservative paper:

"Not the slightest attempt has been made to secure the land frontier against Germany with even simple barricades. The Danish forces are divided into two equally feeble sections, east and west of the Great Belt; and it would be impossible to unite them against Germany, since the German fleet is the unrivalled master of the Danish seas. The Danish forces, maintained under arms, are so weak that Germany could master the country before the first Danish reserves answered their call-up at the mobilisation stations. The capital and the other large cities have no anti-aircraft defences whatsoever; hence the threat of an air attack alone, in which the aggressor would run no more risks than in target practice, could force the Danish Government to abandon any resistance—active or passive—against German demands."

That was, in fact, a very good prophecy—two years before the war—of what would happen.

It is a bit early to talk of the lesson which the Danish people will learn from the second world war; indeed, it is by no means certain that they will even be allowed to draw their own conclusions. The weakest link in the chain is just as important as the strongest—if one link breaks, the whole chain is worthless.

Every new war begins where the last one left off. This is true of tactics, technical equipment, training of man-power; and it is true also of the moral order. The small States which manœuvred themselves through the war of 1914-18 with their neutrality intact, imagined that they could build their future existence on that. One by one, they had to pay for it in this war, until they were almost all in the grips of the aggressor.

The hope of eternal neutrality, which just means that time and again we leave to certain Powers—generally the same, but only greater and richer—the defence of the eternal human values: equality before the law, and the right to live one's own life and speak one's own language—this hope, then, vanishes away like a dream. And perhaps none too beautiful a dream, either. For is it beautiful to accept as a gift that, in successive decades, this country or the other should defend us with the best of their young manhood as the stakes?

Hitler's war against Europe killed the small States' hope that it was enough to be neutral in this world's settlement of life's ideals. The future will certainly demand that those who wish to stand out shall also have the power to do so. But it will perhaps demand something more: that all the nations who are permitted to call themselves free and independent shall unite to put in chains the people who always break the peace of Europe and demand lordship over their peers. Every country a link in the chain; every country sufficiently strong to ensure the chain's not breaking.

Mr. Winston Churchill, in a speech in Manchester, before he was Prime Minister and before the war broke out, already expressed this thought, and later it was elaborated into the Atlantic Declaration. In his Manchester speech Mr. Churchill said:

"There is a third State in the process. There is Poland; and the countries of the north, the Baltic States, the Scandinavian Powers. If we had once gathered together the forces I have mentioned, we should then be in a position to offer these countries a very great measure of armed security for peace. At the present time they do not know which way to turn. But if they saw a strong armed association, whose interest in peace was the same as theirs, they might easily be induced to throw in their lot with us and 'make assurance doubly sure'.

"But what is this but a recreated League of Nations, devoted to its original purpose—namely, the prevention of war? If we could, therefore, get as far as this, believe me, the war danger would be removed from us, perhaps for our lifetime. And across the Atlantic Ocean the United States would signal her encouragement and sympathy.

"I shall be told: 'But this is the encirclement of Germany.' I say, 'No; this is the encirclement of an aggressor.' Nations who are bound by the Covenant can never, however powerful they may be, menace the peace and independence of any other State. That is the essence of the conditions which bring them together. To form a

war-combination against a single State would be crime. To form a combination for mutual defence against a probable aggressor is not only no crime, but the highest moral duty and virtue."

When those words were spoken in 1938, they were certainly spoken to deaf ears in the small countries, who had tried as long as possible to view with understanding Germany's policy, in so far as it was inspired by the desire to assemble all peoples of the Germanic race within the third Reich. But this war tore away all illusions as to Germany's aims being limited to that. Over half the Europeans now alive had personally experienced how Germany, twice in their lifetime, had broken the peace of Europe in an insane desire to dominate other nations.

The price which had to be paid for this lesson was years' forfeiture of freedom and independence. It will not be willingly paid again. The Danes will certainly understand also what this war has demonstrated: that the strategical position of their country is too important to allow it to be left without protection. It is not only a question of the motherland with its key position in the Baltic, its air-base possibilities, its rocky fortress in Bornholm; it is quite as much a question of its Atlantic possessions, in the shelter of which the great bridge from England to America can be built.

PART FOUR WHAT NEXT?

CHAPTER SIXTEEN THE EMPTY CHAIR

IF THIS book has succeeded in drawing a picture of Denmark as a Dane sees it—the assembling of all good forces in the country; the longing, rising like a cry from every home in the land, for the expulsion of the oppressors—then perhaps you will ask, as they ask in Denmark:

What is it leading up to? And how can Denmark ever play her part?

That is the question that torments the people at home.

They look at Norway, who got her chance to fight. Assuredly not because the Norwegian people had a different mental adjustment at the time the attack took place; but because the geography of Norway is different and permits of help from without.

They look at Norway, who fought—but they look also at Czecho-Slovakia, who is an Ally of England; and yet did Czecho-Slovakia fight when the German armoured divisions rumbled in against Prague?

Denmark was like one of her own ships, rammed by German assassins long before the invasion. The same fate befell the whole of Denmark on the 9th of April.

The country had to go down; it was, one might say, suddenly and violently sucked down, just as, when out at sea, a torpedo finds its mark—without warning, without a chance for the men to hit back. And they ask: Was that a crime?

They do not themselves feel it to be one.

The shame which perhaps many felt in the weeks after the invasion, the question nagging at one's conscience: Could we have done more after all?—acquired a different perspective after we saw not only the Netherlands go down so quickly, the fight coming to an end in Norway, but also France's terrible collapse.

Then came frightful months in which fear was added to humiliation. The invasion of England would come next—and then everything would be over; Germany *was bound* to conquer.

Those were the worst months; until we came to understand, with the Battle of Britain, that the battle was *not* lost.

It was during those months that the King called his present Foreign Minister to power: a man whose whole policy cynically adjusts itself to the idea of an all-conquering Germany. We sat still, wincing when we saw the country's policy compromised. But how to get the power of faith in the midst of our fears? And so soon after the shock that had paralysed all thought, all hope, all belief in a free future for Denmark?

And yet: it was in August; it was before we knew anything about the Battle of Britain—before England herself knew how it was going to turn out—that the Danish Government, under the pressure of the people's overflowing indignation, refused the very favourable German offer of a currency and customs-union; of European passports for all Danes who wanted to do business in Europe; make money; obtain special rights as the foremost and most favourably situated of all nations in Europe after Germany.

The answer was No.

From that time onwards the power of resistance grew.

Occasionally perhaps it armed itself with an optimism even exceeding that which was to be found in England itself: we began to believe in a *speedy* victory for England.

But always the question uppermost was:

How can we join in this fight? How shall we be accepted as entitled to take part in the great alliance of nations that hate Nazism, are willing to sacrifice for the fight and to serve in the arms of the victor?

We glimpsed a hope. Europe's whole attitude regarding this question was now altered. We did really see now that this war was not like the last, which, while involving the whole world in a bloody conflict, still remained a struggle between two groups of powers, and therefore permitted neutrality.

When this war began we had not realised that it was of a totally different nature: that Nazism wanted to dominate the world, that its gospel was a world revolution, and that the weapon against it must therefore also be—revolution.

We followed developments in Norway. To begin with, we thanked Heaven that the Danish Nazi leader had not received the same favours as Quisling in Norway; for we were all too convinced on one point: that the war in Norway was over when the King departed. The Swedish Foreign Minister took the same view also, when he thought it defensible to transport German soldiers from and to Norway through Sweden.

That was what we thought at first; however, we later came to see that only the first chapter in Norway's war was over. The next chapter was now only about to begin in earnest: the people's war against the plunderers, against the perversion of the laws, the mode of thought and religion.

Norway's first chapter was not written in the same way as Denmark's. But perhaps *that* was not the decisive point? It was *now*—in the tough resistance of the people, in the preparations for a revolution

within the system of the German "New Order", that the countries were to pass their test for the future.

Here we could be Allies. Here we were Allies.

But what should we do? First of all, fence about those elements in Denmark which would be our strongest weapons. Already they have answered the muster-call in Denmark so whole-heartedly that their union is unbreakable and the problem solved.

Then the defensive side of the problem: to remain Danish, to create, as it were, the psychological basis from which it will be possible to meet any German challenge from our—Danish—stand-point.

But how about the offensive?

The encouragement given to the people at home has been very small. Officially England has adopted the view that the liberation of Denmark will also be included in the scope of England's war aims—and hence in those of America and Russia as well.

We have the declaration there before us; why has it not been shouted aloud?

It would have cost nothing; it would have anticipated no later English presentation of conditions for the restoration of Danish independence. But it would have given Denmark an aim to fight for, and a reason for concentrating all her energies on the struggle.

It would have made the task even more worth while; her defiance would have lit a flame as did the defiance of Norway.

Just look at the little things. The farmers, for instance, would have done everything in their power to conceal the fact that they still owned cows to be sold as meat to Germany, if they learned to think along these lines: that the cows' milk will once again be used as butter for England. Industry would be in a position to take the longer view in making its plans.

They are showing defiance of the enemy in Denmark.

But it may mean everything to give the opposing elements an argument for their defiance.

They feel at present that there is an empty chair in St. James's Palace in London when the Allies meet and talk of what will happen after the war—it might be Denmark's chair.

How are they to get it occupied?

POSTSCRIPT

In December 1941 some incidents took place which will without doubt be of importance for Denmark's position during the remaining stages of this war.

In November, under the threat to deprive the Danes of the last vestiges of their independence, the Germans had induced the Foreign Minister, Erik Scavenius, to go to Berlin, where, on the 25th of November, he signed the Anti-Comintern Pact. The announcement of this, withheld till the last moment, provoked a wave of demonstrations throughout the country. The students headed a

procession which marched to the Amalienborg Palace Square, where thousands of people sang the national anthems of Denmark and Norway in front of the Royal Palace. In the streets there were shouts of: "Down with the traitors!" Nothing came of this anti-ministerial outburst, however. The Government tried to soothe public opinion by giving out that the signature of the pact did not in fact alter anything in Denmark's position as a non-belligerent Power, and that they had not bound themselves to follow the lines of German ideology.

The people had no faith in such statements, and presently from Berlin came the triumphant Press commentaries: To be sure, those States which had signed the pact *had pledged themselves to conduct their internal affairs on the German model.*

The signing of the pact meant for Count Reventlow, the Danish Minister in London, a break with the Copenhagen Government. On 2nd December he informed the Danish Government by telegram that he is convinced that their adherence to the Anti-Comintern Pact will harm Denmark's good name in Britain and endanger the time-honoured relation between Denmark and the British Empire. He further informed them that he could not take orders from the Danish Foreign Minister, but must consider himself free. Ever profoundly faithful to his allegiance to the King of Denmark, he will endeavour to maintain a free Denmark's diplomatic relations with the British Government and to safeguard its interests in the United Kingdom.

While Mr. Churchill was in Washington at Christmas it was announced that Hr. Kauffmann, the Danish Minister, had taken part in the allied discussions. And on 3rd January he declared the adherence of all Free Danes to the principles of the Washington Agreement as signed by the twenty-six Allied Nations.

On 9th April, 1942, Mr. Winston Churchill honoured the Free Danes throughout the world by personally accepting, at 10 Downing Street, a cheque for £38,300, the final sum raised by the previously mentioned Danish Fighter Fund.

The Prime Minister said on this occasion: "The day will come, perhaps sooner than it would be prudent or sensible to hope, when Denmark will be free from the grip in which she has been held, and when she will resume her independent, honoured, and ancient place among the free peoples and states of Europe."

On 10th April the first flight of fighters paid for by the Danish Fighter Fund was presented to the Royal Air Force.

On 3rd May, 1942, Premier Thorvald Stauning died, 69 years old. The Premiership was the following day by Royal Resolution given to the Minister of Finance, Hr. Vilhelm Buhl. There were no other changes in the Government.

*London,
May 1942.*

